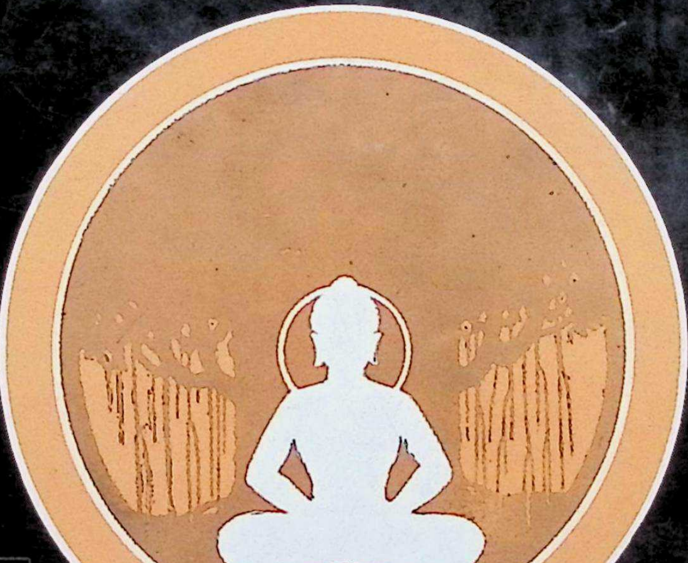
GEOGRAPHY OF EARLY BUDDHISM

BIMALA CHURN LAW



Bimal Churn Law's *Geography of Early Buddhism* fulfils the long and acutely felt need for such a work; for many of the topographical features, both real and imaginary described in ancient literature, exist no longer. Early Pali literature, Jataka tales, Aśokan inscriptions and the accounts of Chinese pilgrims contain much geographical information along with a mass of other details. All these scattered facts are collected and arranged here in a systematic manner so as to bring out a coherent geographical picture of ancient India. The chapters are so planned as to bring out clearly the various physical features like boundaries, towns, cities, lakes, rivers and mountains of the five regions—Middle, North, West, South and East—in which India is traditionally divided. The countries–Ceylon, Burma and others which adopted Buddhism later–are also described. A note on Cetiya and a map, showing the important kingdoms, cities, rivers and mountains known in that dim and distant past, are added.

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GEOGRAPHY OF EARLY BUDDHISM

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GEOGRAPHY OF EARLY BUDDHISM

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WITH A FOREWORD BY

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DEDICATED

WITH PROFOUND RESPECT AND ADMIRATION

TO

MY TEACHER OF INDOLOGY

THE LATE MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA DR. HARAPRASĀD SHĀSTRĪ, C.I.E., M.A., D.LITT., F.A.S.B., M.R.A.S. (HONY.),

A VETERAN ORIENTALIST AND TRUE FRIEND OF SCHOLARS AND RESEARCHERS.

FOREWORD

The Vedic Index of Names and Subjects, by the late Professor A. A. Macdonell and Professor A. Berriedale Keith, incorporates in dictionary form all the geographical information contained in the most ancient Sanskrit writings; it is furnished with references to the works of the scholars of whose studies it has formed in some respects the culmination.

For the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahā-Bhārata* the analyses of Professor Jacobi, with their useful indexes, had long been in the hands of students; and Sörensens' *Index to the Mahā-Bhārata*, now happily completed, had been since several years in progress.

In the year 1904, Professor Rhys Davids had projected, as an item in his Indian Texts Series, a dictionary of Pali proper names, and a basis for such a work has been steadily constructed in the indexes appended to the Pali Text Society's Editions. It seems that there is now good hope that the volume will actually be achieved. But naturally the geographical items will be scattered amid a mass of other subjects, and can hardly present a general view. Dr. Bimala Churn Law, to whom we owe so many investigations of early Indian conditions, and whose publication of a volume of *Buddhistic Studies*, by so many respected scholars, is in recent favourable memory, has had the idea of assembling the geographical and topographical information in a somewhat systematic exposition. At this point Dr. Law has avoided a danger. For he might have been tempted with the domain of cosmography, which in Indian conceptions, as we may see, for instance, in Professor Kirfel's valuable work, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, is so much interwoven with geography, and which is not unrepresented in the Buddhist *Piṭakas*. Instead he has adopted the practical distinction of the 'five Indies', which has respectable authority in Sanskrit literature and is countenanced by the Chinese travellers in India. Under each division, he commences with a general description of the boundaries and larger divisions; he continues in dictionary order with the minor subdivisions, towns, villages, etc., and proceeds similarly through the rivers, lakes, etc., and the mountains. In a concluding chapter he treats of Ceylon, Burma and other extra-India countries; and an appendix discusses the import of the term *caitya*. Reinforced with an adequate index, the brief treatise, which is furnished with references in detail, will serve an useful purpose. The localities mentioned in the Pāli writings (even in the *Jātakas*) belong for the most part to the real world; the cities of fiction, so abundant in Sanskrit literature, appear but little, if at all.

Sir Alexander Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India* is based chiefly upon the Chinese travellers, taken in conjunction with his own great archæological discoveries and the information supplied by the Greeks. It is a critical study and work of research, following the lines of investigation started by Sir William Jones and continued through Lassen, Vivien de St. Martin and Stanislas Julian. There have been other means of approach to the historical geography of India, such as the early surveys, of which the most notable were those of Buchanan Hamilton and Mackenzie, and which have culminated in the Imperial and Provincial Gazetteers, mines of information in detail. The surveys, however, like the statements of Musalman writers, are independent sources chiefly in regard to later times. For the early geography, since of Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* and the *Artha-śāstra*, we have now full indexes, and but few minor Vedic works remain unexplored, while the Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions are fully indexed,—the chief remaining desideratum would seem to be a collection of all the material contained in the texts of Sanskrit Buddhism and the earlier texts of the Jainas. It may then be possible to take seriously in hand the treatise on the geography of India which has so long been included in the design of the *Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research*. The Archæological Department is constantly adducing in its reports and in the *Epigraphia Indica* detailed knowledge of the most definite character in regard to both India proper and Burma, while for Further India in general we have the abundant harvest reaped by the French. Kashmir is in fortunate possession of the special memoir of Sir Aurel Stein, worked out in connection with its unique historical work, the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

It may be stated that there is still room also for a compilation from the Purāṇas, such as was originally contemplated by Professor Rhys Davids, and also, we may add, from the innumerable Māhātmyas. But perhaps, as concerns the chief Purāṇas, Professor Kirfel's before mentioned work has left little to be gleaned.

F. W. THOMAS.

July, 1932.

PREFACE

This treatise attempts for the first time at presenting a geographical picture of ancient India as can be drawn from the Pali Buddhist texts. I have embodied in it the researches of my predecessors in this line as far as they are necessary to construct the geography of the early Buddhists. History and Geography are so very allied that in many places I have found it necessary to put in important historical materials along with geographical information. I have derived much help from my previous publications, especially from my works on the Kṣatriya Tribes. I have added an appendix on the *Cetiya in the Buddhist Literature* (published in the Geiger Commemoration Volume) which, I hope, will be found useful. I have spared no pains to make this monograph as exhaustive as possible. I shall consider my labour amply rewarded if it is of some use to scholars interested in ancient Indian history and geography.

I am grateful to Dr. F. W. Thomas, C.I.E., M.A., Ph.D., F.B.A., for the trouble he has so kindly taken to read the book and contribute a foreword to it.

BIMALA CHURN LAW.

43, *Kailas Bose Street,*
Calcutta, August, 1932.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AN.	Aṅguttara Nikāya (PTS).
Asl.	Atthasālinī (PTS).
Bc.	Buddhacarita by Cowell (*Anecdota Oxoniensia*).
BS.	Buddhist Suttas, S.B.E., Vol. XI.
CAGI.	Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India Ed. by S. N. Majumdar.
CHI.	Cambridge History of India, Vol. I.
CL.	Carmichæl Lectures, 1918, by Dr. Bhandarkar.
Cv.	Cūḷavaṁsa (PTS).
DB.	Dialogues of the Buddha (SBB).
Dh.	Dhammapada (PTS).
Dh.A.	Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā.
Dh.C.	Dhammapada Commentary (PTS).
Dkc.	Dasakumāracarita.
DN.	Dīgha Nikāya (PTS).
Dv.	Dīpavaṁsa (Oldenberg's Ed.).
Dvd.	Divyāvadāna Ed. by Cowell and Neil.
Ep. Ind.	Epigraphia Indica.
GD.	Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediæval India (2nd ed.) by N. L. Dey.
Hv.	Harivaṁśa.
IA.	Indian Antiquary.
Jāt.	Jātaka (Fausböll).
KV.	Kathāvatthu (PTS).
Lal.	Lalitavistara by Dr. S. Lefmann.
Mbh.	Mahābhārata.
MN.	Majjhima Nikāya (PTS).
Mv.	Mahāvaṁsa (PTS).
PHAI.	Political History of Ancient India (2nd ed.) by Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri.
Pss.B.	Psalms of the Brethren.
Pss.S.	Psalms of the Sisters.
PV.	Peta-Vatthu.
Rām.	Rāmāyaṇa.
RV.	Ṛg Veda.
Smv.	Sumaṅgalavilāsinī (PTS).
SN.	Saṁyutta Nikāya (PTS).
S. Nip.	Sutta Nipāta (PTS).
S. Nip.C.	Sutta Nipāta Commentary (PTS).
Sv.	Sāsanavaṁsa (PTS).
Th.G.	Thera-Gāthā (PTS).
Th. G.C.	Thera-Gāthā Commentary.
Therī G.	Therī-Gāthā.
Therī G.C.	Therī-Gāthā Commentary.
VP.	Vinaya Piṭaka (PTS).
VT.	Vinaya Texts (SBE).
Vis.M.	Visuddhi-Magga (PTS).
VV.	Vimāna-Vatthu (PTS).
VV.C.	Vimāna-Vatthu Commentary (PTS).

INTRODUCTION

1. *Sources.*—Pāli literature, in fact ancient literature of India is a vast treasure-house of information with regard to the geographical condition and situation of the numerous cities, countries, villages and other localities as well as of rivers, lakes, parks, forests, caityas, vihāras, etc., of the vast continent of India. It is not unoften that such geographical information is supplemented by historical accounts of interest as well; and when they are collated together, we have before us a picture of the entire country of the times of which this literature may be said to have a faithful record. Early Pāli literature is mainly canonical relating in most cases to rules and regulations of conduct of the monks of the Order as well as of the laity. Incidentally there are also Jātakas or birth-stories of the Buddha as well as many other anecdotes and narratives having obviously an aim or purpose. Texts or narratives of purely historical or geographical nature are thus altogether absent in the literature of the early Buddhists; and whatever historical or geographical information can be gathered are mainly incidental and, therefore, more reliable. From a time when Indian history emerges from confusion and uncertainties of semi-historical legends and traditions to a more sure and definite historical plane, that is from about the time of the Buddha to about the time of Asoka the Great, the canonical literature of the early Buddhists is certainly the main, if not the only, source of all historical and geographical information of ancient India supplemented, however, by Jaina and Brahmanical sources here and there. Thus, for the history of the rise and vicissitudes as well as for the geographical situation and other details of the Soḷasa Mahājanapadas, the sixteen Great States, the most important chapter of Indian history and geography before and about the time of the Buddha, the Pāli Aṅguttara Nikāya is the main and important source of information which, however, is supplemented by that contained in the Jaina Bhagavatī Sūtra and in the Karṇaparva of the Mahābhārata.[1] Even for later periods when epigraphical and archæological sources are abundant, and literary sources are mainly brahmanical or are derived from foreign treatises such as those of the Greek geographers and Chinese travellers, the importance of geographical information as supplied by Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist sources is considerable. The commentaries of Buddhaghosa and the Ceylonese chronicles—Dīpavaṁsa and Mahāvaṁsa—for instance, contain information

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[1] Cf. PHAI., p. 60.

with regard to the contemporary geography of India whose value can hardly be overestimated. The non-canonical Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist literature belong no doubt to a later date, but being mostly commentaries on older texts, or treatises of a historical nature they speak of a time when Buddhism had just launched on its eventful career and was gradually gaining new converts and adherents. The information contained in them is, therefore, almost equally useful and trustworthy.

It has already been said that early Pāli literature is mainly canonical. The huge bulk of texts included in it contains in each of them incidental references to cities and places in connection with the gradual spread of Buddhism mainly within the borders of Majjhimadesa or the Middle Country and the localities bordering it. For such information, the Vinaya Piṭaka is a most important source and it is here perhaps for the first time that we find an accurate description of the four boundaries of the Madhyadeśa as understood by the Buddhists of the time. No less important are the Dīgha, the Majjhiṁa and the Aṅguttara Nikāyas of the Suttapiṭaka wherefrom can be gleaned a systematic survey of the entire geographical knowledge of the Middle Country, as well as of some other localities of Northern and Southern India. The Jātakas also contain incidental references to places and localities which add to our geographical knowledge of Buddhist India. Such incidental references can also be found in almost each and every treatise, early or late, canonical or non-canonical. But of non-canonical literature which introduces us to important geographical notices, mention should be made of the Milindapañho or the questions of King Milinda, and the Mahāvastu, a Buddhist sanskrit work of great importance. Of later texts, the most important from our point of view are the commentaries of Buddhaghosa and some of his colleagues. Mention must also be made of the two important Ceylonese Chronicles—the Dīpavaṁsa and Mahāvaṁsa as well as the huge commentary literature of Ceylon and Burma.

Other sources from which we can gather chips of information as to the geographical knowledge of the early Buddhists may be mentioned the inscriptions of Asoka and those at the Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri hills of Orissa. Coins too, sometimes, enable us to locate a particular nation or tribe, as for example, the location of the kingdom of King Sivi of the Sivi Jātaka has been determined by the discovery of some copper coins at Nāgri, a small town 11 miles north of Chitor.

Chinese Buddhist texts, especially the itineraries of travellers, though later in date, are of inestimable value as sources of the geography of Buddhist India. Of the various Chinese accounts, those of Song-yun and Hwiseng are short and describe only a few places of North-Western India. It-sing who landed at Tāmralipti (or modern Tamluk in Midnapur) in A.D. 673, gives us a more detailed account. He visited Nālandā, Gijjhakūṭa, Buddhagayā, Vesālī, Kuśinagara, Kapilavastu, Sāvatthī, Isipatana Migadāva and the Kukkuṭapabbata. But more important are the accounts of Fa-Hien and Yuan Chwang. Fa-Hien entered India from the north-west (399–414 A.D.), toured all over northern India and left it at the port of Tāmralipti. Yuan Chwang also covered the same tract (629–645 A.D.), but his account is fuller and more exhaustive. The geographical notices of both the pilgrims are precise and definite, and for one who wants to get a correct and exhaustive idea of the geography of Northern India during the fourth and seventh centuries of the Christian era, they are, in fact the most important sources of information. But as we are here concerned with the geography primarily of the early Buddhists, we shall turn to them only when they would enable us and help us to explain earlier notices and information.

It will be noticed that in the earlier canons and texts as well as in those later texts and canons that speak of earlier times, Majjhimadeśa is the country *par excellence* that is elaborately noticed. Its towns and cities, parks and gardens, lakes and rivers have been mentioned time and again. Its villages have not even been neglected. Repetitions of the same information are often irritating and it seems that the Middle Country was almost exclusively the world in which the early Buddhists confined themselves. That was, in fact, what happened. It was in an eastern district of the Madhyadeśa that Gotama became the Buddha, and the drama of his whole life was staged on the plains of the Middle Country. He travelled independently or with his disciples from city to city, and village to village moving as if it were within a circumscribed area. The demand near home was so great and insistent that he had no occasion during his life time to stir outside the limits of the Middle Country. And as early Buddhism is mainly concerned with his life and propagation of his teaching, early Buddhist literature, therefore, abounds with geographical information mainly of the Majjhimadeśa within the limits of which the first converts to the religion confined themselves. The border countries and kingdoms were undoubtedly known and were oftentimes visited by Buddhist monks, but those of the distant south or north or north-west seem to have been known only by names handed down to them by traditions. Thus the Mahājanapadas of Gandhāra and Kamboja were known, but they hardly had any direct and detailed knowledge about them. Of the south, they hardly knew any country beyond Assaka, Māhissati (Avanti Dakshiṇāpatha), Kaliṅga and Vidarbha. But with the progress of time as Buddhism spread itself beyond the boundaries of the Middle Country, and its priests and preachers were out for making new converts, their geographical knowledge naturally expanded itself, and by the time Asoka became Emperor of almost the whole of India, it had come to embrace not only Gandhāra and Kamboj on one side, and Puṇḍra and Kaliṅga on the other, but also the countries that later on came to be occupied by the Cheras, Choḷas and Pāṇḍyas. The position of the early Buddhists as regards their geographical knowledge may thus be summarised:—they were primarily concerned with the Middle Country, the cradle of the Buddha and Buddhism, but even as early as the Buddha's time they knew the entire tract of country from Gandhāra-Kamboja to Vaṅga, Puṇḍra and Kaliṅga on one side, and from Kāśmīr to Assaka, Vidarbha and Māhissati on the other. But knowledge of these outlying tracts of country were not as intimate, and they come to find mention in the earlier texts only when their incidental relations with the Middle Country are related or recalled.

2. *Buddhist Conception of India.*—The Brahmanical conception of the world has been vaguely preserved in the Epics and the Purāṇas wherein the world is said to have consisted of seven concentric islands—Jambu, Sāka, Kusa, Sālmala, Kraunca, Gomeda, and Pushkara—encircled by seven samudras, the order, however, varying in different sources. Of these seven islands, the Jambudvīpa is the most alluded to in various sources and is the one which is generally identified with Bhāratavarṣa, or the Indian Peninsula.

Jambudīpa is one of the four Mahādīpas or the four great continents including India. When opposed to Sīhaladīpa, Jambudīpa means the continent of India as Childers points out (Pāli Dictionary, p. 165). The ancient name of India according to the Chinese was shin-tuh or sindhu (Legge's Fa-Hian, p. 26). Jambudīpa is called a vana or forest.[1] It is recorded in the Visuddhimagga that a single world-system is 1,203,450 yojanas in length and breadth, and 3,610,350 yojanas in circumference. Within this world-system lies this earth (Vasundharā) which is 24 nahutas[2] in thickness. The wind-girt water flows 48 nahutas in thickness; the wind climbs for ninety-six myriad yojanas unto the lower ether. The highest of the mountain peaks is the Sineru which sinks 84,000 yojanas in the great deep and ascends to the same height. The Sineru is compassed by seven celestial ranges named Yugandhara, Isadhara, Kāravika, Sudassana, Nemindhara, Vinataka and Assakanna. The Himavā is 500 yojanas in height and 3,000 yojanas in length and breadth. It is crowned with 84,000 peaks. The Jambudīpa has been named after the Jambu tree which others name Naga (Vis. M., I, pp. 205-206; cf. VT., I, p. 127 and Asl., p. 298). Buddhaghosa points out that

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[1] Papañcasūdanī, II, p. 423 (P.T.S.).

[2] Nahuta=ten thousand.

Jambudīpa is 10,000 yojanas in extent and it is called mahā or great (Smv., II, p. 429). Of these 10,000 yojanas, 4,000 are, according to Spence Hardy, covered by the ocean, 3,000 by the forest of the range of the Himalayan mountains and 3,000 are inhabited by men (Manual of Buddhism, p. 4). He further points out that the five great rivers, Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Aciravatī, Sarabhū and Mahī, after watering Jambudīpa, fall into the sea (Ibid., p. 17). Jambudīpa has 500 islands (Ibid., p. 449). In the earlier ages, there were 199,000 kingdoms in Jambudīpa, in the middle ages, at one time, 84,000 and at another, 63,000; and in more recent ages about a hundred. In the time of Gotama Buddha this continent contained 9,600,000 towns, 9,900,000 seaports, and 56 treasure cities (Ibid., p. 4). The Dīgha Nikāya of the Suttapiṭaka narrates that the Exalted One, while relating the Cakkavattisīhanāda Suttanta, predicted thus: 'Jambudīpa will be mighty and prosperous, the villages, towns and royal cities will be so close that a cock could fly from each one to the next.' This Jambudīpa—one might think it a 'Waveless Deep'—will be pervaded by mankind even as a jungle is by reeds and rushes. In this Continent of India there will be 84,000 towns with Ketumatī (Benares), the royal city, at their head (DN., III, p. 75). We learn from the Aṅguttara Nikāya that in Jambudīpa trifling in number are the pleasant parks, the pleasant groves, the pleasant grounds and lakes, while more numerous are the steep precipitous places, unfordable rivers, dense thickets of stakes and thorns and inaccessible mountains (Vol. I, p. 35). We are informed by the Papañcasūdanī that gold is collected from the whole of Jambudīpa (II, p. 123). The Dīpavaṁsa records that Asoka built 84,000 monasteries in 84,000 towns of Jambudīpa (p. 49). This is supported by the Visuddhimagga which states that Asoka, the Great King, put up 84,000 monasteries in the whole of Jambudīpa (Vol. I, p. 201).

The Milinda Pañho (p. 3) informs us that in Jambudīpa many arts and sciences were taught, e.g. the Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Nyāya and Vaiśesika systems of philosophy; arithmetic, music, medicine, the four Vedas, the Purāṇas and the Itihāsas; astronomy, magic, causation, and spells, the art of war; poetry and conveyancing. We learn from the commentary on the Therīgāthā that there were disputants here well versed in arts and sciences (P.T.S., p. 87).

It is interesting to note that merchants made sea-voyages for trade from Jambudīpa.[1] Once a dreadful famine visited it (Dh.C., III, pp. 368, 370 and 374). There were heretics and bhikkhus here and the unruliness of the heretics was so very great that the bhikkhus stopped holding uposatha ceremony in

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[1] Law, A study of the Mahāvastu, p. 128.

Jambudīpa for seven years (Mv., p. 51). The importance of Jambudīpa is very great as it was often visited by Gautama Buddha besides Mahinda who paid a visit to it with an assembly of bhikkhus (Dv., p. 65). The whole of Jambudīpa was stirred up by Sānu, the only son of a female lay disciple, who mastered the Tripiṭaka and lived one hundred and twenty years (Dh.C., IV, p. 25). The Kathāvatthu informs us that the people of Jambudīpa led a virtuous life (p. 99). There is a reference to the great Bo-tree at Jambudīpa (Cv., Vol. I, p. 36).

The Buddhist system includes Jambudvīpa as one of the islands that comprise the world, but counts eight dvīpas (instead of seven) and has different names for some of the samudras.[1] The Jaina tradition has, however, new names for the several dvīpas as well as for the samudras. The Bhuvanakoṣa section of the Mārkaṇḍeya, Matsya and Vāyu Purāṇas as well as Bhāṣkarācārya and the Mahābhārata allude to nine divisions of India. Of these nine dvīpas eight have been shown to be divisions not of India proper, i.e. they are not so many provinces of India, but of Greater India,[2] and are islands and countries that encircle the Indian Peninsula. This Indian Peninsula is the ninth dvīpa which is girt by sea (sāgara-samvritaḥ) and is called Kumārīdvīpa. This description of India is, however, unknown to Buddhist tradition.

Early Buddhist sources are, however, silent about the size and shape of India, though the ancient Indians had a very accurate knowledge of the true shape and size of their country. Alexander's informants gathered their knowledge from the people of the country, and described India as a rhomboid or unequal quadrilateral in shape, with the Indus on the west, the mountains on the north and the sea on the east and south[3] .... At a somewhat later date the shape of India is described in the Mahābhārata as an equilateral triangle which was divided into four smaller equal triangles[4] .... Another description of India is that of the Navakhaṇḍa or nine divisions which was first described by the astronomers, Parāsara and Varāhamihira, and was afterwards adopted by the authors of several of the Purāṇas.[5] According to this description, India of the times had the shape of an eight-petalled lotus encircling a round central division. 'In the geography of Ptolemy, however, the true shape of India is completely distorted, and its most striking feature, the acute angle formed by the meeting of the two coasts of the Peninsula at Cape Comorin is changed to a single coast line running almost straight from the mouth of the Indus to the mouth of the Ganges.'[1] For a Buddhist conception of the shape of India, we have to turn to the Mahāgovinda Suttanta (DN., II, p. 235), and to the itinerary of Yuan Chwang, the celebrated Chinese traveller. The former authority states that the great earth (i.e. India) is broad on the north whereas in the south it is 'Sakaṭamukham,' i.e. has the form of the front portion of a cart, and is divided into seven equal parts. The description of the shape of India as given in the Mahāgovinda Suttanta thus corresponds to a great extent to the actual shape of the country which is broad on the north having the Himalayas extending from east to west and 'Sakaṭamukham', i.e. triangular towards the south. The description of the shape as we read in the Mahāgovinda Suttanta agrees wonderfully with that given by the Chinese author Fah-Kai-lih-to. According to him, the country in shape is broad towards the north and narrow towards the south, a description to which he humorously adds the 'people's faces are of the same shape as the country'.[2] The next important information in this connection is derived from Yuan Chwang's itinerary; and it is interesting to compare his description with those just noted. He describes the shape of the country as a half-moon with the diameter or broadside to the north, and the narrow end to the south. This description, however, is just like what Yuan Chwang's conception could possibly be; for he did not visit the south; in fact, he hardly crossed the Vindhyas. His travels were thus mainly confined to the north of India which may be said to resemble a half-moon with the Vindhyas as its base and the Himalayas spreading its two arms on two sides as the diameter.

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[1] See Pullee's Studi Italini di Filologia Indo-Iranica, Vol. IV, pp. 15-16. Also see J.R.A.S., 1902, p. 142; 1907, p. 42 and CAGI., Intro., p. XXXVI, and foot-note.

[2] CAGI., App. I, pp. 749–754.

[3] CAGI., p. 2.

[4] Ibid., p. 5.

[5] Ibid., pp. 6-7.

3. *Divisions of India.*—Indian literature, whether Buddhist or Brahmanical, divides India into five traditional divisions. These five divisions are clearly stated in the Kāvya-Mīmāṁsā (p. 93):—

> 'Tatra Bārāṇasyā parataḥ purvadeśaḥ
> Māhiṣmatyā parataḥ Dakshināpathaḥ
> Devasabhāyā parataḥ paschātdesaḥ
> Prithudakāt parataḥ Uttarāpathaḥ
> Vinasanaprayāgayoḥ Gaṅgā-Yamunāyosca
> antaraṁ Antaravedī'

To the east of Bārāṇasī is the eastern country; to the south of Māhiṣmatī is the Dakshiṇāpatha or the Deccan; to the west of Devasabhā (not yet identified) is the western country; to the north of Prithudaka (modern Pehoa, about 14 miles west of Thaneswar) is the Uttarāpatha or the northern country; and the tract lying between Vinasana and Prayāga, i.e. the confluence of the Yamunā and the Ganges, is called the Antaravedī. But when the Kāvyamīmāṁsā says that the western boundary of the eastern country (Purvadeśa) is Benares, it seems to extend the eastern boundary of Manu's Madhyadeśa up to Benares. This is exactly what it should be. For, by the time when the Kāvyamīmāṁsā came to be written the Aryans had already outstripped the older limits of the Madhyadeśa and Aryandom had extended up to Benares. In the Dharmasūtras and Dharmaśāstras, Aryandom, i.e. Āryāvarta, is described to have extended from the region where the river Saraswatī disappears (i.e. the Vinasana of Manu and Kāvyamīmāṁsā) in the west, to the Kālakavana or Black Forest (identified with a locality near Prayāga by S. N. Majumdar; see CAGI., Intro., p. xli, foot-note) in the east; and from the Himalayas in the north to the Pāripātra in the south. The Dharmaśāstra of Manu calls the Āryāvarta of the Sūtras to be the Madhyadeśa or the Middle Country and his boundaries of Aryandom are almost identical. Almost all Brahmanical sources give a description of Madhyadeśa or Āryāvarta, the most important division of India, but very few except the Kāvyamīmāṁsā, as stated above, and the Bhuvanakoṣa section of the Purāṇas give any detail about the four remaining divisions of the country. And this is exactly the case with Buddhist sources as well. A detailed description of the Middle Country is as old as the Vinaya Piṭaka as well as references to Majjhimadesa all over early Pāli texts; but an accurate description of the other divisions of India is not found earlier than Yuan Chwang. The reason is not very far to seek. As with the Brahmanical Aryans, so with the Buddhists, Middle Country was the cradle on which they staged the entire drama of their career, and it is to the description and information of this tract of land (by whatever name they called it) that they bestowed all their care and attention. Outside the pale of Madhyadeśa there were countries that were always looked down upon by the inhabitants of the favoured region.

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[1] CAGI., p. 9.

[2] Fa-Hien's travels—trans. by S. Beal, p. 36, note.

The five divisions as indicated in the Bhuvanakoṣa section of the Purāṇas are identical with those given in the Kāvyamīmāṁsā. They are: (*a*) Madhyadeśa (Central India), (*b*) Udīcya (Northern India), (*c*) Prācya (Eastern India), (*d*) Dakshiṇāpatha (Deccan), and (*e*) Aparānta (Western India). The same division of the country into five provinces was adopted by the Chinese as well. 'In the official records of the Thang dynasty in the seventh century, India is described as consisting of "Five Divisions" called the East, West, North, South and Central, which are usually styled the Five Indies.'[1] Yuan Chwang also adopts the same divisions which Cunningham describes as follows[2]:—

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[1] CAGI., p. 11.

[2] Ibid., pp. 13-14.

1. *Northern India* comprised the Punjab proper, including Kāśmīr and the adjoining hill States, with the whole of eastern Afghanisthan beyond the Indus and the present Cis-Satlej States to the west of the Saraswatī river.

2. *Western India* comprised Sindh and Western Rajputana with Cutch and Gujrat, and a portion of the adjoining coast on the lower course of the Narbadā river.

3. *Central India* comprised the whole of the Gangetic provinces from Thaneswar to the head of the Delta, and from the Himalaya mountains to the banks of the Narbadā.

4. *Eastern India* comprised Assam and Bengal proper, including the whole of the delta of the Ganges together with Sambalpur, Orissa, and Ganjam.

5. *Southern India* comprised the whole of the Peninsula from Nasik on the west and Ganjam on the east to Cape Kumārī (Comorin) on the south, including the modern districts of Berar and Telingana, Mahārāshtra and the Konkan, with the separate States of Hyderabad, Mysore, and Travancore, or very nearly the whole of the Peninsula to the south of the Narbadā and the Mahānadī rivers.

It is thus obvious that the Chinese system of five divisions was directly borrowed, as Cunningham rightly points out, from the Hindu Brahmanical system as described in the Purāṇas and the Kāvyamīmāṁsā. The only difference is that the Antaravedī of the Kāvyamīmāṁsa was replaced by the 'Middle Country' (i.e. the Majjhimadesa of early Pāli texts or Mid-India of the Chinese) which included the western portion of the Prācya country or Eastern India.

CHAPTER I

MAJJHIMADESA OR MIDDLE COUNTRY

Boundaries.

The boundaries of Majjhimadesa (Madhyadeśa) or the Middle country have been referred to and explained in both Brahmanical and Buddhist literature of an early date. Thus as early as the age of the Sūtras, we find, in the Dharmasūtra of Baudhāyana, Āryāvarta or the country of the Aryans (which is practically identical with the country later on known as Madhyadeśa) described as lying to the east of the region where the river Saraswatī disappears, to the west of the Kālakavana or Black Forest (identified with a tract somewhere near Prayāga)[1], to the north of Pāripātra and to the south of the Himalayas.[2] The eastern boundary thus excluded not only the country now known as Bengal but also Bihar which in ancient days included the entire Magadha country, the land *par excellence* of the Buddha and Buddhism. The Dharmaśāstra of Manu, however, calls the Āryāvarta of the Sūtras to be the Madhyadeśa or Middle country. Thus, he defines it as extending from the Himalayas in the north to the Vindhyas in the South, and from Vinasana (the place where the Saraswatī disappears) in the west to Prayāga in the east (Himavad-Vindhyayor-madhyam yat prāk vinasanād api pratyag-eva Prayāgāścha Madhyadeśaḥ......). The Kāvyamīmānsā, as we have already seen, however, designates the Āryāvarta of the Sūtras and Madhyadeśa of Manu as Antarvedī (Vinasana Prayāgayoḥ Gaṅgā-Yamunayośca antaram Antarvedī)[3] which extends upto Benares in the east. The Kurma-bhivāga section of the Purāṇas, however, follows Manu in its description of the middle country. It is thus obvious that the eastern boundary of the Madhyadeśa gradually expanded itself with the progress of time so as to include places that had lately acquired a sacredness within the Brahmanical fold.

It has already been hinted at that the ancient Magadhan country including Benares and Bodh-gayā was the land *par excellence* of Buddhism and the Buddha. It was, therefore, quite in the logic of circumstances that Buddhist writers would extend the eastern boundary of the Madhyadeśa (Majjhimadesa) farther towards the east so as to include the Buddhist holy land. The boundaries of the Buddhist Majjhimadesa as given in the Mahāvagga (Vol. V, pp. 12-13) may be described as having extended in the east to the town of Kajaṅgala[1] beyond which was the city of Mahāsāla; in the south-east to the river Salalavatī (Sarāvatī) in the south to the town of Satakaṇṇika; in the west to the Brāhmaṇa district of Thūna[2]; in the north to the Usīradhaja mountain.[3] The Divyāvadāna (pp. 21-22) however, extends the eastern boundary of Majjhimadesa still farther to the east so as to include Puṇḍavardhana which in ancient times included Varendra—roughly identical with North Bengal. The other boundaries as given in the Divyāvadāna are identical with those as in the Mahāvagga. The Majjhimadesa was 300 yojanas in length, 250 yojanas in breadth, and 900 yojanas in circuit.[4] It is interesting to place side by side the extent of the entire Jambudīpa of which Majjhimadesa was only a part. The Jambudīpa according to the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī (II, p. 623) was 10,000 yojanas in extent, whereas Aparagoyāna was 7,000 yojanas (Dasa-sahassa-yojanappamāṇaṁ Jambudīpaṁ, satta-yojana-sahassappamāṇaṁ Aparagoyānaṁ).

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[1] CAGI., Intro., pp. XLI, and xli f.n. I.

[2] Baudhāyana—I, 1, 2, 9, etc. Also see Vaśiṣtha, I, 8.

[3] Kāvya-Mīmāṁsā, p. 93.

Countries, towns, cities, etc. of Majjhimadesa—1. Mahājanapadas.

Of the sixteen Mahājanapadas[5] that existed in India during the days of the Buddha, as many as fourteen may be said to have been included in the Majjhimadesa. They are: (1) Kāsī, (2) Kosala, (3) Aṅga, (4) Magadha, (5) Vajji, (6) Malla, (7) Cetiya (Cedī),

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[1] Kajaṅgala is identical with Ka-chu-wen-ki-lo of Yuan Chwang which lay at a distance of above 400 li east from Champā (Bhāgalpur). That Kajaṅgala formed the eastern boundary of the Madhyadeśa is also attested by the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī (II, p. 429).

[2] 'Thūna has not been identified by any scholar. As Yuan Chwang's account makes Thaneswar the western-most country of the Buddhist Middle country, I propose to identify Thūna (or Sthūna of Divyāvadāna) with Sthānvīsvara' (CAGI., Intro., p. xliii, f.n. 2).

[3] Usīradhaja may be said to be identical with Usiragiri, a mountain to the north of Kankhal (Hardwar). IA., 1905, p. 179.

[4] Commentary on Jātaka and Sumaṅgalavilāsinī (Rhys Davids in J.R.A.S., 1904, p. 86).

[5] The sixteen Mahājanapadas are referred to in the AN. (Vol. I, p. 213; IV, pp. 252, 256, 260). The Jaina Bhagavatī Sūtra, however, gives a slightly different list of them. They are: Aṅga, Baṅga, Magaha (Magadha), Malaya, Mālava, Accha, Vaccha, Kocchaha, Pāḍha, (Pāṇdya ?) Lāḍha (Rāḍha), Bajji (Vajji), Moli, Kāsī, Kosala, Avaha, and Saṁbhuttara (Suhmottara ?). 'It will be seen that Aṅga, Magadha, Vatsa, Vajji, Kāsī and Kosala are common to both the lists. Mālava of the Bhagavatī is probably identical with Avanti of the Aṅguttara. Moli is probably a corruption of Malla. The other states mentioned in the Bhagavatī are new, and indicate a knowledge of the far east and the far south of India. The more extended horizon of the Bhagavatī clearly proves that its list is later than the one given in the Buddhist Aṅguttara.' (PHAI., p. 60.)

There is, however, also an epic account of the Majjhimadesa. An interesting account of the tribal characteristics of the peoples of different janapadas is given in the Karṇaparva of the Mahābhārata. There the following tribes are mentioned to have been inhabitants of their respective janapadas named after them: the Kauravas, the Pañchālas, the

(8) Vaṁsa (Vatsa), (9) Kuru, (10) Pañchāla, (11) Maccha (Matsya), (12) Sūrasena, (13) Assaka and (14) Avanti.[1] Gandhara and Kamboj, the two remaining countries, may be said to have been located in Uttarāpatha or the Northern division.

Kāsī.

In the Aṅguttara Nikāya Kāsī is included in the list of sixteen Mahājanapadas (AN., I, p. 213; IV, pp. 252, 256, 260). Its capital was Bārānasī (mod. Benares) which had other names as well, viz. Surundhana, Sudassana, Brahmavaddhana, Pupphavatī, Ramma (Jāt., IV, pp. 119-120) and Molinī (Jāt., IV, p. 15). The extent of the city is mentioned as 12 yojanas (Jāt., VI, p. 160) whereas Mithilā and Indapatta were each only seven leagues in extent.

Before the time of the Buddha, Kāsī[2] was a great political power. Its kings from time to time fought with the Kosalan kings. Sometimes Kāsī extended its suzerain power over Kosala and sometimes Kosala conquered Kāsī. But on the whole it appears that before the Buddha's time Kāsī was the most powerful kingdom in the whole of northern India (Jāt., III, pp. 115 ff.; VT., pt. II, pp. 30 ff.; Jāt., I, pp. 262 ff.). But in the time of the Buddha, Kāsī lost its political power. It was incorporated sometime into the Kosalan kingdom and sometime into the Magadhan kingdom. There were fierce fights between Pasenadi, king of Kosala, and Ajātasattu, King of Magadha, regarding the possession of Kāsī. Kāsī was finally conquered and incorporated into the Magadha kingdom when Ajātasattu defeated the Kosalans and became the most powerful king of Northern India. (SN., I, pp. 82–85.)

In the Buddhist world, Kapilavatthu, Bārāṇasī and Kusīnārā were the four places of pilgrimage (Dīgha, Vol. II, Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta). It was at Benares that the Buddha gave his first discourse on the *Ḍhammacakka* or the wheel of Law (MN., Vol. I, pp. 170 ff.; Cf. SN., V, pp. 420 ff.; KV., pp. 97, 559).

Sālvas, the Matsyas, the Naimishas, the Chedis, the Sūrasenas, the Magadhas, the Kosalas, the Aṅgas, the Gandharvas and the Madrakas.

The Janavasabha Suttanta (DN, II.) refers to the following janapadás: Kāsī-Kosala, Vajji-Malla, Ceti-Vaṁsa, Kuru-Pañchāla and Maccha-Sūrasena. The Indriya Jātaka (Jāt., III, p. 463) refers to the following janapadas:—Suraṭṭha (Surat), Lambacūḷaka, Avanti, Dakshiṇāpatha, Daṇḍaka forest, Kumbhavatinagara, and the hill tract of Arañjara in the Majjhimapadesa.

[1] Strictly speaking Assaka at least, if not Avanti, as referred to in the early Buddhist texts, should be considered as situated in the Dakkhiṇāpatha or the Deccan for both the settlements that are found mentioned in Buddhist sources lay outside the borders of the Madhyadeśa.

[2] The earliest mention of the Kāsīs as a tribe seems to be met with in the Paippalāda recension of the Atharva Veda. The city of Kāsī is stated in the Brāhmaṇas to have been situated on the Varaṇāvatī river (CHI., p. 117). According to the Rāmāyaṇa, Kāsī was a kingdom while Prayāga with the country around was still a forest (Ādikāṇḍa, XII, 20). In the Vāyu Purāṇa, the kingdom of Kāsī is stated to have extended up to the river Gomatī.

The Buddha met an Ājīvika named Upaka on his way to Benares to preach the wheel of Law at Isipatana Migadāya (Therī GC., p. 220). He reached Benares after crossing the Ganges at Prayāga direct from Verañjā[1]. The Buddha spent a great part of his life at Benares. Here he delivered some of the most important discourses and converted many people (AN., Vol. I, pp. 110 ff., pp. 279-280; Ibid., III, pp. 320–322, pp. 392 ff., pp. 399 ff.; SN., I, pp. 105-106; VT., I, pp. 102–108, pp. 110–112).

Benares was a great centre of industry, trade, etc. There existed trade relations between Benares and Sāvatthī (Dh. C., III, p. 429) and between Benares and Taxila (Ibid., I, p. 123). The people of Benares used to go to Taxila. We read in the Susīma Jātaka that a certain youth of Benares went to Taxila, two thousand leagues away from the former, to learn the 'hatthi-sutta' (Jāt., II, p. 47). We know from the Bhojājāniya Jātaka (No. 23) that 'all the kings round coveted the kingdom of Benares.'

Kosala.

Kosala is mentioned in the Aṅguttara Nikāya as one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas. The Dīgha Nikāya (I, p. 103) and the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī (I, pp. 244-45) tell us that Pokkharasādi, a famous brāhmaṇa teacher of Kosala, lived at Ukkaṭṭhanagara which had been given to him by King Pasenadi.

The Saṁyutta Nikāya (I, pp. 70–97) gives us much information about Kosala and its king Pasenadi. We are told that Pasenadi fought many battles with the Magadhan King, Ajātasattu. In the end, however, there was a conciliation between the two kings.

The Buddha spent much of his time at Sāvatthī, the capital of Kosala, and most of his sermons were delivered there. The story of the conversion of the Kosalans to the Buddhist faith is related in some detail. In course of his journey over northern India, Buddha reached Kosala and went to Sālā, a brāhmaṇa village of Kosala. There the Buddha delivered a series of sermons and the brahmin householders were converted to the new faith (MN., I, pp. 285 ff.). The Buddha also converted the brahmins of Nagaravinda, a brāhmaṇa village of Kosala (Ibid., III, pp. 290 ff.). He went to the Mallas, Vajjis, Kāsīs and Magadhas from Kosala (SN., V, p. 349). Once he went to Venāgapura, a brāhmaṇa village of Kosala, and converted the brāhmaṇa householders of the village (AN., I, pp. 180 ff.). In the Pārāyaṇavagga of the Sutta Nipāta (pp. 190–192), we are told that a teacher of Kosala named Bāvarī went from Kosala to Dakkhiṇāpatha. There in the kingdom of Assaka, near the lake, he built a hermitage on the bank of the river Godāvarī. We are further told that Bāvarī and a certain brāhmaṇa went to the Buddha who was then in Kosala in order to have their dispute settled by the Blessed One.

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[1] Samantapāsādikā, I, p. 201.

Kosala had matrimonial alliances with neighbouring powers. In Jātaka (III, pp. 211–213) we are told that Dīghāvu or Dīghāyu, a prince of Kosala, married a daughter of the king of Benares. In Jātaka (II, p. 237 and IV, pp. 342 ff.) we find that Mahākosala, father of King Pasenadi of Kosala, gave his daughter in marriage to King Bimbisāra of Magadha. The pin-money was the village of Kāsī yielding a revenue of a hundred thousand for bath and perfume. The Kosala Saṁyutta (SN., I, pp. 82–85) and a Jātaka story (Jāt., IV, pp. 342 ff.) tell us that there took place many a fierce fight between the sons of Mahākosala and Bimbisāra, Pasenadi and Ajātasattu respectively. But the two kings came into a sort of agreement. Ajātasattu married Vajirā, daughter of Pasenadi, and got possession of Kāsī.

In the north, the Kosala country included the region occupied by the Śākyas of Kapilavastu. Mutual jealousies sometimes led to war between the two countries. Thus we are told that the Śākyas became the vassals of King Pasenadi of Kosala (DB., pt. III, p. 80).[1]

The capital cities of Kosala were Sāvatthī and Sāketa. But from the Epics and some Buddhist works Ayodhyā seems to have been the earliest capital, and Sāketa the next. In Buddha's time, Ayodhyā had sunk to the level of an unimportant town (Buddhist India, p. 34), but Sāketa and Sāvatthī (Śrāvastī)[2] were two of the six great cities of India (Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, S.B.E., XI, p. 99). Ayodhyā or Oudh was a town on the river Sarajū. Some think that Sāketa and Ayodhyā were identical, but Prof. Rhys Davids has been successful to point out that both cities were existing in the Buddha's time. Besides Sāketa and Sāvatthī, there were other minor towns like Setavya (Pāyāsi Suttanta) and Ukkaṭṭha (Ambaṭṭha Sutta) included in Kosala proper. Some hold that Sāvatthī was so called because it was resided in by the sage Sāvatthī. But in the Papañca-sūdanī (I, p. 59), we find a different explanation. The city is said to have contained everything required by human beings. Hence the city is called Sāvatthī (sabbaṁ+atthi).

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[1] The Sutta Nipāta, however, definitely includes the territory of the Śākyas of Kapilavastu within the kingdom of Kosala. There-in (S.B.E., X, Part II, 67-68) Buddha says, 'just beside Himavanta there lives a people endowed with the power of wealth, the inhabitants of Kosala. They are *Ādicchas* (belonging to *Āditya* family) by family, Śākiyas by birth......' The Majjhima Nikāya (II, 124) too is definite on this point. There-in Pasenadi is recorded to have said, 'Bhagavā pi Khattiyo, ahaṁ pi Khattiyo, *Bhagavā pi Kosalako, aham pi Kosalako*'.

[2] Sāvatthī is identical with the great ruined city on the south bank of the Rāpti called Saheth-Maheth.

The Jātaka stories (Jāt., VI, p. 68; IV, pp. 144 ff. and 236 ff.) speak of the wealth and glory of Sāvatthī. It was at Sāvatthī that the Buddha permitted the womenfolk to enter the Buddhist Saṁgha (MN., III, pp. 270 ff.). Anāthapiṇḍika, the great merchant, and Visākhā Migāramātā, the most liberal hearted of ladies about whom Buddhist literature speaks so much, were inhabitants of Sāvatthī.

Sāvatthī contributed a good number of the bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs who were of great fame and honour: Paṭācārā (Dh. C., II, pp. 260 ff.), Kisāgotamī (Ibid., II, pp. 270 ff.), Nanda, the son of Mahāpajāpati Gotamī (Ibid., I, pp. 115 ff.), Kaṅkhārevata, the chief of the Bhikkhus, practising jhāna (Pss. B., p. 7) and Sumanā, sister of Mahākosala (Pss. S., pp. 19-20).

Among other towns in the Kosala country may be mentioned, besides already noted, Daṇḍakappaka (AN., III, pp. 402 ff.), Naḷakapāna (Ibid., V, pp. 122 ff.), Paṅkadhā (Ibid., I, p. 236), and a village named Toranavatthu between Sāvatthī and Sāketa (SN., IV, pp. 374 ff.). The Palāsavana was at Naḷakapāna. The Vinaya Texts tell us (pt. I, pp. 220-221) that the road from Sāketa to Sāvatthī was haunted by robbers.

The ancient Kosala kingdom was divided into two great divisions, the river Sarayū serving as the wedge between the two; that to the north was called Uttara Kosala, and the one to the south was called Dakṣiṇa Kosala.

Aṅga.

The Kingdom of Aṅga has been frequently referred to in Pali literature. Its capital Campā was situated on the river (mod. Chāndan) of the same name (Jātaka 506) and the Ganges,[1] at a distance of 60 yojanas from Mithilā (Jāt., VI, p. 32). Aṅga proper of the Epics comprised the modern districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr and extended northwards up to the river Kosi. The Aṅga kingdom at one time included Magadha and probably extended to the shores of the sea. The Vidhura Paṇḍita Jātaka (Jāt., No. 545) describes Rājagaha as a city of Aṅga. The actual site of Campā, the ancient capital of Aṅga, is probably marked by two villages Campānagara and Campāpura that still exist near Bhagalpur. The ancient name of Campā was probably Mālinī or Mālina[2] as stated in the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas, and the Harivaṁśa. The Mahājanaka Jātaka (No. 539) refers to the gate, watch-tower and walls of Campā which, according to the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, was one of the six great cities of India. Another Jātaka (Jāt., VI, 539) seems to record that Campā gradually increased in wealth and traders sailed from her banks to Suvaṇṇabhūmi (Lower Burma) for trading purposes. It is not at all improbable that emigrants from this city were responsible for naming and establishing the great settlement of the same name in Cochin-China in South-East Asia.[1]

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[1] Watters, Yuan Chwang, II, 181; Dkc., II, 2.

[2] Campasyā tu purī Campā Yā Mālinyabhavat purā, Mbh., XII, 5, 6-7; Matsya, 48, 97; Vāyu, 99, 105-06; Hv., 32, 49.

In the Aṅguttara Nikāya, Aṅga is mentioned as one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas. The Vinayapiṭaka (Vol. I, p. 179) tells us that there were 80,000 villages in the kingdom of Aṅga, and Campā was one of them. In the Saṁyutta Nikāya (pt. V, p. 225) we find mention of the town of Āpaṇa in Aṅga. In the Mahāgovinda Suttanta (DN., II, p. 235) we find that Mahāgovinda built the city of Campā.[2] The same Suttanta also tells us that India was then divided into seven political divisions. The seven kingdoms with their capitals are named below :—

(1) Kaliṅga	..	capital	Dantapura
(2) Assaka	..	,,	Potana
(3) Avanti	..	,,	Māhissatī
(4) Sovīra	..	,,	Roruka
(5) Videha	..	,,	Mithilā
(6) Aṅga	..	,,	Campā
(7) Kāsī	..	,,	Bārāṇasī

Before the time of the Buddha, Aṅga was a powerful kingdom. We are told in one of the Jātakas (Jāt., VI, p. 272) that Magadha was once under the sway of Aṅgarāja. We are informed by the Jātāka book that there was a river between Aṅga and Magadha which was inhabited by a Nāga-rājā who helped the Magadhan king to defeat and kill the Aṅga-rājā and to bring Aṅga under his sway. In one of the Jātakas (Jāt., V, pp. 312–316), it is stated that King Manoja of Brahmavaddhana (another name of Benares) conquered Aṅga and Magadha. In Buddha's time Aṅga lost her political power for ever. During this period Aṅga and Magadha were constantly at war (Jāt., IV, pp. 454-55). The Aṅga country became subject to Seniya Bimbisāra. This is clearly proved by the fact that a certain brahmin named Sonadaṇḍa with whom the Buddha had a discussion on the subject of caste, lived at Campā on the grant made by King Bimbisāra and used to enjoy the revenues of the town which was given to him by the King (DN., Vol. I, p. 111).

In the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī (pt. I, p. 279) we find mention of a tank called Gaggarapokkharaṇī dug by the queen Gaggarā of Campā. From the Sonadaṇḍa Suttanta (DN., Vol. I) we know that the Buddha with a large company of bhikkhus went to Campā in the Aṅga country and dwelt there on the bank of the Gaggarā. The Vinaya Piṭaka (Vol. I, pp. 312–315) gives us to know of Gautama's activities in Aṅga and Campā. From the Majjhima Nikāya (Vol. I, pp. 271 ff.) we know that the Buddha while dwelling among the Aṅgas in a city named Assapura in the kingdom of Aṅga preached the Mahāassapura Suttanta to the bhikkhus, and on another occasion the Blessed One delivered the Culla-assapura suttanta to the bhikkhus (MN., I, pp. 281 ff.). It is said in the Nidānakathā (Jāt., I, p. 87) that many sons of the householders of Aṅga and Magadha followed the Buddha in course of his journey from Rājagaha to Kapilavatthu. One of the Jātakas (Jāt., VI, p. 256) tells us that from the Himalaya sages came to the city of Kāla-Campā in the kingdom of Aṅga to enjoy cooked food. In the Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā (Vol. III, pp. 241 ff.) we find that the chaplain of King Mahākosala, father of Pasenadi-Kosala, named Aggidatta gave up household life and lived in the midst of Aṅga-Magadha and Kuru country, and the people of Aṅga-Magadha used to offer charities to Aggidatta and his disciples.

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[1] IA., VI, 229; It-sing, 58; Nundolal Dey, Notes on Anc. Aṅga, J.A.S.B., 1914.

[2] The Mahābhārata, however, tells us that Aṅga was so called after its king Aṅga (Ādiparva, CIV., 4179 ff.) who seems to be identical with Aṅga Vairocani mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII, 4, 22). The Rāmāyaṇa says that *aṅga* or body of the love-god Kāma was consumed here and the country was, therefore, called Aṅga (cf. CAGI., Notes, p. 722).

Aṅga was a prosperous country containing many merchants (VV. C., p. 337). It is evident from the Vimānavatthu Commentary that the people of Aṅga used to go to trade with many caravans full of merchandise to Sindhu-Sovīradesa. They had to pass through a desert and once they lost their way but were afterwards saved by a god (p. 332). At the time of the Buddha, Campā, according to the Dīgha Nikāya, was a big town and not a village, and the Master was requested by Ānanda to obtain Parinirvāṇa in one of the big cities, e.g. Campā, Rājagaha (DN., II, 146).

Campā was once ruled by Asoka's son, Mahinda, his sons and grandsons (Dīp., p. 28). It was at Campā that the Buddha prescribed the use of slippers by the Bhikkhus (VP., I, 179 foll.). The Dīgha Nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka informs us that the Blessed One was sojourning amongst the Aṅgas and went to Campā and took his abode in a vihāra on the bank of the tank Gaggarā (DN., I, pp. III ff.).

The Buddha was, according to the Majjhima Nikāya (I, pp. 271 ff.), once dwelling among the Aṅgas in a city named Assapura in the kingdom of Aṅga. Many sons of householders of Aṅga and Magadha followed the Buddha in course of his journey from Rājagaha to Kapilavastu. They all were his disciples (Jāt., I, Nidānakathā, p. 87).

Magadha.

Early Pāli literature abounds in information about the Magadha country, its people, and its ancient capital Giribbaja. Magadha roughly corresponds to the modern Patna and Gaya districts of Bihar. Its earliest capital was Girivraja, or old Rājagriha, near Rājgir among the hills near Gayā. The Mahāvagga calls it Giribbaja of the Magadhas in order to distinguish it from other cities of the same name (Cf. Girivraja in Kekaya)[1]. Giribbaja seems to have other and perhaps older names. The Rāmāyaṇa tells us that the city was known by the name of Vasumatī (I, 32.7). The Mahābhārata seems to record that Girivraja was also called Bārhadrathapura (II, 24-44) as well as Māgadhapura (II, 20, 30) and that Māgadhapura was a well-fortified city being protected by five hills (puram durādharshaṁ samantataḥ). Other names recorded in the Mahābhārata are Varāha, Vrishabha, Rishigiri, and Caityaka.[2] There is, however, another name, Bimbisārapurī, by which Indian Buddhist writers designated the city.[3] The Life of Yuan Chwang (p. 113) mentions still another name, Kusāgārapura.[4] The statement of the Mahābhārata that Girivraja was protected by five hills is strikingly confirmed by the Vimānavatthu commentary (p. 82) in which we read that the city of Giribbaja was encircled by the mountains Isigili, Vepulla, Vebhāra, Paṇḍava and Gijjhakūṭa. The Vinaya Piṭaka (Vol. I, p. 29) tells us that Magadha comprised eighty thousand villages all of which were under the sway of King Bimbisāra. The same work informs us that the river Tapodā flowed by this ancient city (VP., IV, pp. 116-117). In the Majjhima Nikāya (Vol. I, pp. 166-67) we find that Senānigāma, one of the villages of Magadha, was a very nice place having a beautiful forest and a river with transparent water. The Saṁyutta Nikāya (Vol. I, pp. 172-73) tells us of the brāhmaṇa village of Ekanālā where a brāhmaṇa named Bharadvāja lived. The Brāhmaṇa was converted by the Buddha. The same Nikāya tells us of Nālakagāma in Magadha where Sāriputta delivered a discourse on nibbāna to a wandering ascetic named Jambukhādaka (Sam. IV, pp. 251-260). In the Digha Nikāya (I, pp. 127 ff.) we find mention of a brahmin village of Khānumata in the territory of Magadha. In the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā (Vol. III, pp. 439-40) it is related that once the Buddha while staying at Rājagaha informed King Bimbisāra of Magadha that he would pay a visit to Vesālī. Bimbisāra prepared a road for the Buddha, and caused the ground from Rājagaha to the Ganges, a distance of 5 leagues to be made smooth, and erected a rest house at the end of each league. From the

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[1] PHAI, p. 70.

[2] PHAI, p. 70.

[3] B. C. Law, The Life and Work of Buddhaghosa, p. 87 n.

[4] Rg. Veda mentions a territory called Kīkaṭa ruled by a chieftain named Pramaganda. In later works Kīkaṭa has been alluded to as identical with Magadha (Cf. Abhidhāna-Chintāmanī, 'Kīkatā Magadhāhvayāh' also Bhāgavata Purānaḥ, I. 3, 24; and Śrīdhara, 'Kikataḥ Gayapradeśaḥ). In Vedic, Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra periods, Magadha was considered to have been outside the pale of Aryan and Brahmanical culture and was, therefore, looked down upon by Brahmanical writers. But Magadha was the Buddhist holy land, and has always been included in the Madhyadeśa.

Mahāvastu (Le Mahāvastu, Ed. by Senart, Vol. I, pp. 253 ff.) we know also of Buddha's journey from Rājagriha to Vesālī. We are told that King Bimbisāra had the road all the way from Rājagaha to the Ganges decorated with flags and garlands, and that the Licchavis too had decorated the road from the Ganges to Vesālī. In the Divyāvadāna (p. 55) we find the Buddha saying to the Bhikkhus that in order to go to Rājagaha from Sāvatthī one should cross the Ganges by boats kept either by King Ajātasattu or by the Licchavis of Vesālī. These statements from various sources show that the Ganges formed the boundary between the Kingdom of Magadha and the republican country of the Licchavis, and that both the Magadhas and the Licchavis had equal rights over the river Ganges. In the Campeyya Jātaka (Jāt., IV, p. 454) we find that the river Campā flowed between Aṅga and Magadha forming the boundary between the two kingdoms.

The two kingdoms of Aṅga and Magadha were engaged in battles from time to time (Jāt., IV, pp. 454-55). In a Jātaka story (Jāt., V, pp. 315 foll.) it is stated that once the King of Benares conquered both Aṅga and Magadha. In another Jātaka story (Jāt., VI, p. 272) it is said that the Magadha kingdom once came under the suzerainty of Aṅga. The Mahāvagga (S.B.E., XVII, p. I) offers a reasonable evidence to prove that the kingdom of Aṅga came under Bimbisāra's sway.[1] The Sona-daṇḍa Suttanta (Dīgha, Vol. I) also proves the same thing. The Kosala Samyutta (SN., I, pp. 83-85) gives an account of a war between Pasenadi of Kosala and Ajātasattu of Magadha. In the end Ajātasattu succeeded in extending his sway over Kosala with the help of the Licchavis. Magadha during the reign of Ajātasattu came into conflict also with Vesālī of the Vajjis. Preliminaries to this struggle are described in the Mahāvagga and the Mahāparinibbāṇa Suttanta as well as in the Nirayāvalī Sutta of the Jains. With Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu Magadha rose to such eminence that centuries later till Asoka's Kaliṅga war, the history of Northern India is practically the history of Magadha.

Magadha was an important centre of Buddhism. According to the Kathāvatthu account (I, p. 89) Sāriputta and Moggallāna were converted by the Buddha to his faith while the latter was in Magadha. The Samantapāsādikā (I, p. 63) tells us that the missionaries who visited various places to preach the dhamma of Asoka were almost all natives of Magadha.

In Asoka's time the capital of the Magadhan kingdom was Pāṭaliputta (the older Pāṭaligāma where the ministers of

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[1] We learn from Jaina sources (Hemachandra, the author of Sthavirāvalī; cf. also the Bhagavatī Sūtra and the Nirayāvalī Sūtra) that Aṅga was governed as a separate province under a Magadhan prince with Campā as its capital.

Ajātasattu built a fort to repel the Vajjis—DN., II, 86). In the Samanta-Pāsādikā (I, p. 52) we find that Asoka's income from the four gates of the city of Pāṭaliputta was 400,000 kahāpanas daily, and in the Sabhā or Council he used to get 100,000 kahāpaṇas daily.

Pāli literature, however, contains numerous references to Rājagaha,[1] the ancient capital of Magadha. In the Saṁyutta (Vol. II, pp. 191-92) it is stated that the Vepullapabbata which was formerly called the Vaṅkakapabbata was one of the hills surrounding Rājagaha. People could get up to its summit in three days. It was also called Supana.

In the Vinaya Piṭaka we are told that from Rājagaha a road lay to Andhakavinda which was once visited by 500 carts all full of pots of sugar (II, p. 93). Bimbisāra's court-physician Jīvaka is referred to as an inhabitant of this place (VP., II, pp. 184-85). But his birth place was Magadha whose rice fields are described to have been divided into short pieces, and in rows, and by outside boundaries and by cross boundaries (Vinaya Texts, II, pp. 207-208). Jīvaka was, however, educated at Taxila (Vinaya Texts, S.B.E., II, p. 174). Rājagaha had a gate which used to be closed in the evening, and nobody, not even the King was allowed to enter the city after that (VP., IV, pp. 116–117). The city had a fort which was once repaired by Vassakāra, the minister of Ajātasattu. Veluvana, the bamboo park of Rājagaha has often been referred to as a residence of the Master. Kalandakanivāpa has also been referred to as another residence of the Master. In the 11th Khandhaka of the Cullavagga, there is an important reference to the Council of Rājagaha (VT., pt. III).

Magadha during the early Buddhist period was an important political and commercial centre and people from all parts of northern India flocked to the country in the wake of commerce and other pursuits. Stories of traders and merchants passing through or residing at the capital city are too numerous to recount. Magadha maintained friendly relations by marriage and other alliances not only with the northern neighbours but also with the western Mahājanapada of Gandhāra from whose king Pukkusāti she received an embassy and a letter. When King Pradyota was suffering from jaundice, the Magadhan King Bimbisāra sent his court-physician Jīvaka who had received his training at Taxila.

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[1] The older capital of Rājagaha was however burned down by fire even during the reign of Bimbisāra, when another new capital city was built called the new Rājagaha. Yuan Chwang says that when Kuśāgārapura or Kuśāgrapur (probably named after the early Magadhan King Kuśāgra-Pargiter, Anc. Ind. Hist. Tradition, p. 149) or old Rājagaha was afflicted by fires, the King went to the cemetery and built the new city of Rājagaha. Fā-hien, however, says that it was Ajātasattu and not Bimbisāra, who built the new city of Rājagaha.

Vajjis.

The tribe of the Vajjis included, according to Cunningham and Prof. Rhys Davids, aṭṭhakulas or eight confederate clans among whom the Videhans, the Vajjis themselves, and the Licchavis were the most important.[1]

The Videha clan had its seat at Mithilā which is recorded in the Brāhmaṇas and the Purāṇas to have originally a monarchical constitution.[2]

The Vajji or Vriji clan is mentioned by Pāṇini (IV, 2. 131) and Kauṭilya (Mysore Ed., 1919, p. 378) who however, distinguishes the Vrijikas or Vajjis from the Licchavikas. Yuan Chwang (Watters, II, 81) also distinguishes the Fu-li-chih (Vriji) country from Fei-she-li (Vaiśālī). It seems that Vrijika or Vajji was not only the name of the confederacy, but also of one of the constituent clans. But the Vajjis, like the Licchavis, are often associated with the city of Vesālī which was not only the capital of the Licchavi clan, but also the metropolis of the entire confederacy. 'A Buddhist tradition quoted by Rockhill (Life of the Buddha, p. 62) mentions the city of Vesālī as consisting of three districts. These districts were probably at one time the seats of three different clans.'[3]

The Licchavis had their capital at Vesālī identical with Besārh in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar. In the Paramatthajotikā on the Khuddakapāṭha and the Pujāvaliya, a Ceylonese Buddhist work, we find an account of the mythical origin of the Licchavis, the Vajji country and the capital Vesālī. Buddhaghosa's fanciful story of the origin of the town of Vesālī is also supported by the Jātakaṭṭhakathā to the Ekapaṇṇa Jātaka (Jāt., I, p. 504). It is said in the commentary that at the time of the Buddha the city of Vesālī was encompassed by three walls at a distance of a gāvuta from one another and that at three places there were gates with watchtowers and buildings. From the Mahāvastu (Le Mahāvastu, Ed. by Senart, Vol. I, pp. 253 ff.) we know that the Buddha once visited Vesālī invited by the Licchavis. Vesālī, at the time of the Buddha, was an opulent, prosperous and populous town. It had 7,707 storied buildings, 7,707 pinnacled buildings, 7,707 ārāmas or pleasure grounds, and 7,707 lotus ponds

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[1] Other confederate clans were probably Jñātrikas, Ugras, Bhogas, and Aikshvākas. To the Jñātrika clan belonged Mahāvīra, the Jina; they had their seats at Kuṇḍapura or Kuṇḍagrāma and Kollāga. But they were called 'Vesalie,' i.e. inhabitants of Vesālī (Hœrnle, Uvāsagadasāo, II, p. 4, note).

[2] Mithilā is, however, identified by some scholars with the small town of Janakpur just within the Nepal border. 'But a section of them may have settled in Vaiśālī. To this section probably belonged the princess Triśalā, also called Videhadattā, mother of Mahāvīra'. PHAI., p. 74.

[3] PHAI., pp. 74-75.

(Vinaya Texts, S.B.E., II, p. 171). A similar account of Vesālī is also found in the Lalitavistara (Ed. by Lefmann, Chapter III, p. 21).[1] Vesālī was well provided with food, the harvest was good, alms were easy to obtain and one could very well earn his living by gleaning or through favour (VT., II, p. 117). There at Vesālī was the Gotamaka shrine. There lay a road from Vesālī to Rājagaha (Ibid., II, pp. 210-11) and another from Vesālī to Kapilavatthu whence a number of Śākya ladies came to receive ordination from the Master who at that time was staying at Kūṭāgāra hall in the Mahāvana (Ibid., III, pp. 321 foll.). In the 12th Khandhaka of the Cullavagga there is an important reference to the Buddhist Council of Vesālī (VT., III, pp. 386 ff.).

The Buddha's missionary activities were confined not to Magadha and Kosala alone, but were spread over to Vesālī as well. Many discourses were delivered here either at the mango-grove of Ambapālī, in the outskirt of the city or at Kūṭāgārasālā in the Mahāvana, the great forest stretching upto the Himalayas.

The Mahāparibbāna Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya speaks of the existence of concord and amity among the Licchavis.[2] In the Saṁyutta Nikāya (P.T.S., pt. II, pp. 267-68), we find the Buddha saying that the Licchavis were strenuous and diligent, zealous and active. The Blessed One further said that if the Licchavis would be given to luxury and indolence, they were sure to be conquered by the Magadhan King Ajātasattu.

The Majjhima Nikāya (Vol. I, p. 231) tells us of the Vajjis and the Mallas as forming saṁghas and gaṇas, that is, clans governed by organised corporations. The Mahāvastu states that there were twice 84,000 Licchavirājās residing within the city of Vesālī. The commentaries on the Cullakāliṅga Jātaka (Jāt., III, p. 1), and the Ekapaṇṇa Jātaka (Jāt., I, p. 504) speak of 7,707 rājās of Vesālī.

The political relation between Magadha and Vesālī was friendly. The fact that Ajātasattu is called Vedehiputto or Vaidehiputra (SN., II, p. 268; Commy. on Dīgha I, p. 47; Commy. on Majjhima I, p. 125; Commy. on Samyutta II, p. 215, Dvd., p. 55) goes to show that King Bimbisāra established matrimonial alliance with the Licchavis by marrying a Licchavi princess. In the Majjhima Nikāya (Vol. II, pp. 100-101) we find that the Licchavis were on friendly terms with King Pasenadi of Kosala.

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[1] Vesālī is so called because it is extensive, i.e. Visālībhūtatāya Vesālīti saṅkhaṁ gataṁ (Papañcasudanī, II, p. 19). Yuan Chwang while visiting Vesālī saw two huge groups of ruins which even in the last century came down to be known as Rājā Visāl Kā garh. This is, however, an ingenuous way of explaining the name Vesālī.

[2] Cf. BS., pp. 3-4.

From the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta (DN., II, pp. 72 ff.) it is clear that Ajātasattu was determined to destroy the Vajjian power. In the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī we are told of the immediate cause which led to the outbreak of the war. It is said that there was a port near the Ganges extending over a Yojana, half of which belonged to Ajātasattu and half to the Licchavis. There was a mountain not far from it, and at the foot of the mountain there was a mine of precious substance. Ajātasattu found the Licchavis too powerful to crush. Accordingly he sent Sunīdha and Vassakāra, his ministers to sow the seed of dissensions among the Licchavis. Vassakāra succeeded in bringing about disunion among the Licchavi princes. Ajātasattu then succeeded in destroying the Licchavis. Buddhist tradition has, however, preserved the names of eminent Licchavis as Mahānāma, general Sīha, Dummukha and Sunakkhatta. (AN., III, 74; Mahāli Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya DB., I, p. 198; VT., II, p. 108; MN., I, 234; 68; II, 252; The Book of the Kindred Sayings, pt. I, 295.)

Malla.

The Mallaraṭṭha or Mallarāshṭra has been mentioned in the Aṅguttara Nikāya as one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas. The kingdom was divided into two parts which had for their capitals the cities of Kusāvatī or Kusīnārā and Pāvā identical probably with Kasia (on the smaller Gondak and in the east of the Gorakhpur district) and a village named Padaraona (12 miles to the north-east of Kasia) respectively.[1] The Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta states that the Sāla grove of the Mallas where the Buddha lay in his Mahāparinibbāna was situated near the river Hiraṇyavatī identical probably, as Smith indicates, with the Gaṇḍak (Early Hist. of India, p. 167 n.).

The Mallas had at first a monarchical constitution (Kusa Jātaka; Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta, Mahāsudassana Suttanta, etc.) when their capital city had been known as Kusāvatī. But later on, in the time of the Buddha, when the monarchy came to be replaced by a republican constitution, the name of the city was changed to Kusīnārā. Besides Kusīnārā, the Mallas had other important cities namely, Bhoganagara, Anupiyā and Uruvelakappa[2] in the neighbourhood of which there existed a wide forest called Mahāvana.

In the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya it is stated that Ānanda requested the Buddha not to attain Mahāparinibbāna in a small town like Kusīnārā. He suggested the names of great cities like Campā, Rājagaha, Sāvatthī, Sāketa, Kosambī, and Bārānasī. But the Blessed One selected Kusīnārā as the place of his Mahāparinibbāna and silenced Ānanda by narrating the former glories of Kusāvatī. The ancient city of Kusāvatī had seven ramparts, four gates, and seven avenues of palm trees. The Buddha himself says that Kusīnārā is ancient Kusāvatī. It was a capital city, and was 12 yojanas in length from east to west, and 7 yojanas in width north to south (DN., II, pp. 146-47).

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[1] The exact site of Kusīnārā is not known, but the discovery in the large stūpa behind the Nirvāṇa temple near Kasia of an inscribed copper-plate with the words '(parini) rvāṇa-chaitye tāmrapaṭṭa iti' seems to support the view that Kasia is probably the ancient Kusīnārā. With regard to the identification of Pāvā, we are still less certain. Carlleyle disagrees with Cunningham and seems to identify Pāvā with Fazilpur, 10 miles south-east of Kasia (CAGI., p. 714).

[2] B. C. Law—Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India, p. 149; cf. SN., V, p. 228; AN., IV, p. 438.

In the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta (DN., II, pp. 72–168) we find an account of the Buddha's journey from Rājagaha to Kusīnārā. We are also told of halting places, the list of which is given in order with important events :—

1. Rājagaha—the Buddha consulted by Ajātasattu about an expedition against the Vajjis.
2. Ambalaṭṭhikā.
3. Nālandā.
4. Pāṭaligāma where he crossed the Ganges.
5. Koṭigāma.
6. Nādikā.[1]
7. Vesālī: while staying here at the Cāpāla Cetiya, the Buddha resolved to die in three months.
8. Bhaṇḍagāma.
9. Hatthigāma, Ambagāma, Jambugāma, Bhoganagara.
10. Pāvā: the Buddha here visited Cunda and fell ill by eating sūkaramaddava. He recovered and started for Kusīnārā ; on his way he crossed the Kakuttha river, reached Ambavana, proceeded to the Sāla grove of the Mallas near Kusinārā and died there.

From a passage in the Majjhima Nikāya (Vol. I, p. 231) it is apparent that the Mallas were a typical example of a Saṁgha-rājya. In the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta, mention is made of a set of officers called purisas about whose duties and functions very little is known.

Buddhism appears to have attracted many followers among the Mallas in Dabba (VT., III, pp. 4 ff.), Khaṇḍasumana (Pss. B., p. 90), Roja (VT., II, S.B.E., Vol. XVII, p. 139) and Sīha (Pss. B., p. 80).

The political relation between the Mallas and the Licchavis was on the whole friendly. But there were occasional rivalries between the two (cf. the story of Bandhula—Dhammapada, Faüsboll, old Edition, pp. 218–220).

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[1] According to the Papañcasudanī, there is a tank by the name of Nādikā (II, p. 235).

According to the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, Kusīnārā was 25 yojanas from Rājagaha (II, p. 609).

Cedi.

The ancient Cedi country lay near the Jumna and was contiguous to that of the Kurus. It corresponds roughly to modern Bundelkhand and the adjoining region. We are told by the Cetiya Jātaka (No. 422) that the capital city of the Cedi country was Sotthivaṭi-nagara which is most probably identical with the city of Śuktimati or Śuktisāhvaya of the Mahābhārata (III., 20. 50 and XIV., 83. 2).[1] Other important towns of the Cedi kingdom include Sahajāti (AN., III, p. 355) and Tripurī, the mediæval capital of Tripurivishaya or Cedi.

The Vedabbha Jātaka (No. 48) states that the road from Kāsī to Cedī was full of thieves and was, therefore, unsafe. The Vessantara Jātaka (Jāt., VI, pp. 514-515) tells us that Cetaraṭṭha was 30 yojanas distant from Jetuttara-nagara, the birth place of King Vessantara. Cetiraṭṭha was an important centre of Buddhism. In the Aṅguttara Nikāya (Vol. III, pp. 355-356; V, pp. 41 ff.; pp. 157–61) we find that Mahācuṇḍa while dwelling in the town of Sahajāti among the Cedis delivered many discourses. The same Nikāya (Vol. IV, pp. 228 ff.) also tells us that Anuruddha while dwelling among the Cedis in the Deer Park of Pācīnavaṁsa won Arahatship. From the Dīgha Nikāya (Vol. II, pp. 200, 201, 203) we learn that the Buddha went to the Cedis and other tribes while out in preaching. In the Saṁyutta Nikāya (Vol. V, 436-37) a discussion on the four aryan truths is recorded to have taken place among the bhikkhus who dwelt among the Cedis in the Sahañcanika.

Vaṁsa or Vatsa.

The kingdom of the Vaṁsas or Vatsas is mentioned in the Aṅguttara Nikāya as one of the sixteen great countries of India. The capital of the country was Kausāmbī identical with modern Kosam near Allahabad. The Bhagga (i.e. Bharga) state of Suṁsumāragiri was a dependency of the Vatsa kingdom (Jātaka No. 353; Bhandarkar, Carmichael lectures, p. 63). This is confirmed by the Mahābhārata (II, 30, 10-11) and the Harivaṁśa (29, 73) which testify to the close association of these two realms.[2] In the Dīgha Nikāya (Vol. II, pp. 146, 169) we find that Kosambī was suggested as one of the great cities where the Blessed one should attain Mahāparinibbāna. In the Sutta Nipāta Commentary (Vol. II, p. 584) we are told that the city of Kosambī was visited by the followers of Bāvarī, a leader of the Jaṭilas. Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja dwelt at Ghositārāma at Kosambī. From the Psalms of the Brethren (pp. 110-111) we know that he was the son of the Chaplain to King Udena of Kosambī. He went to Rājagaha, entered the Order and in due time attained the sixfold abhiññā (supernatural knowledge). In the Saṁyutta (Vol. IV, pp. 110–112) a conversation on religious subjects which took place between King Udena of Kosambī and Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja is related. While the Buddha was staying at Ghositārāma at Kosambī, he held discourses on Dhamma, Vinaya, etc. (VT., pt. III, p. 233).

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[1] GD., p. vii. In the mediæval period the southern frontiers of Cedi extended to the banks of the Narmadā (Mekalasutā). ‘ Nadīnāṁ Mekalasutā nṛipānām Raṇavigrahaḥ | Kaviṇāṁcha Surānandaś Cedi-maṇḍala maṇḍanaṁ ’ ||. (Karpuramañjarī, p. 182). The great epic mentions a river called Śuktimati which flowed by the capital of Rājā Uparicara of Cedi-Vishaya—PHAI., p. 81.

[2] PHAI., p. 84. Dr. Ray Chaudhuri points out that epic tradition attributes the foundation of the city of Kauśāmbī to a Cedi prince (Ram. I, 32, 3–6; Mbh. I, 63, 31). The origin of the Vatsa people, however, is traced to a King of Kāśī (Hv., 29, 73; Mbh. XII, 49, 80; PHAI., p. 83).

Kuru.

In the ancient literature mention is made of two Kuru countries, Uttarakuru and Dakkhiṇakuru. The Kuru country mentioned in the Ṛgveda is probably the Uttarakuru of later times which is alluded to in Pāli literature as a mythical region. Its extent is, however, given as 8,000 yojanas (Smv., II, p. 623). References to the southern Kuru country are frequent in Buddhist literature. The Papañcasūdanī says (Vol. I, p. 225) that there was a janapada named Kuru and its kings used to be called Kurus. In the Aṅguttara Nikāya (Vol. I, p. 213; IV, pp. 252, 256, 260) Kuru is mentioned as one of the sixteen mahājanapadas. At Kammāssadhamma, one of the Kuru towns, the Buddha delivered some profound discourses to the Kurus: the Mahānidāna and the Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Suttantas of the Dīgha Nikāya (Vol. II). The thera Raṭṭhapāla, whose verses are still preserved in the Therīgāthā, was a Kuru noble and was born in the town of Thullakoṭṭhika in the country of the Kurus (Pss. B., pp. 302–307). He is also mentioned in the Majjhima Nikāya (II, pp. 65 foll.) as holding a religious discussion with King Koravya. From the Dhammapada Commentary (III, pp. 241–47) we learn that Aggidatta, a chaplain of the King Mahākosala of Kosala, after renouncing the world, lived in a place between the eastern dominion of Aṅga-Magadha and the Kuru country. Of smaller towns mention is made in the Pāli texts of Thullakoṭṭhika and Kammāssadhamma.

The Papañcasūdanī (Vol. I, pp. 225-226) gives us a story of the origin of the Kurus. It is stated that King Mandhātā, a Cakkavattī king of Jambudīpa, conquered Pubbavideha, Aparagoyāna, and Uttarakuru besides the devalokas. While returning from Uttarakuru a large number of the inhabitants of that country followed Mandhātā to Jambudīpa, and the place in Jambudīpa where they settled became known as Kururaṭṭham including provinces, villages, towns, etc. This explains the word 'Kurusu' occurring in Pāli Buddhist literature. The Buddha is said to have delivered a number of religious discourses in the Kuru country and a large number of people embraced Buddhism (AN., V, pp. 29–32; SN., II, pp. 92-93 and pp. 107 ff.; MN., I, pp. 55 foll.; pp. 501 ff.; Ibid., II, pp. 261 ff.; DN., II, pp. 55 ff.).

The ancient Kuru country may be said to have comprised the Kurukshetra or Thaneswar. The district included Sonapat, Amin, Karnal, and Pānipat, and was situated between the Saraswatī on the north and Drishadvatī on the south.

According to the Mahā-sutasoma Jātaka (No. 537), the Kuru country was three hundred leagues in extent ('tiyojana-sate Kururaṭṭhe'), and the capital city of Indapatta extended over seven leagues (sattayojanike Indapattanagare—Jāt., No. 537). It is stated in the Jātakas (Nos. 413 and 495) that the ruling dynasty belonged to the Yudhiṭṭhila gotta (i.e., the family of Yudhiṣṭhira). Of kings and princes of the Kurus mention is made of the following in the Jātakas: Dhanañjaya Koravya (Kurudhamma Jātaka, No. 276; Dhūmakāri Jātaka, No. 413; Sambhava Jātaka, No. 515; Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka, No. 545), Koravya (Dasabrāhmaṇa Jātaka, No. 495; Mahā-sutasoma Jātaka, No. 537), and Sutasoma (Mahāsutasoma Jātaka).

Pañcāla.

Like the Kuru country, the Pañcāla country too, which, by the way, is also mentioned in the Aṅguttara Nikāya as one of the sixteen mahājanapadas of Jambudīpa, was divided into two divisions: the northern or Uttara Pañcāla and the southern or Dakshiṇa Pañcāla, the Bhāgīrathī forming the dividing line. In the Divyāvadāna we read of two Pañcālavishayas: Uttara Pañcāla and Dakshiṇa Pañcāla. The Jātakas as well as the Mahābhārata also refer to these two divisions of the country.[1] According to the Divyāvadāna (p. 435) the capital of Uttara Pañcāla was Hastināpura, but the Kumbhakāra Jātaka (Cowell's Jāt., III, p. 230) states that the capital of Uttara Pañcāla was Kampillanagara and that a king named Dummukha ruled there. But according to the Mahābhārata, Northern Pañcāla had its capital at Ahicchatra or Chatravatī[2] (identical with modern Ramnagar in the Bareilly district) while southern Pañcāla had its capital at Kāmpilya (Mbh. 138, 73-74), identical with modern Kampil in the Farokhabad district, U.P. This apparent discrepancy in the two evidences is reconciled when we take into account that 'a great struggle raged in ancient times between the Kurus and the Pañcālas for the possession of Uttara Pañcāla. Sometimes Uttara Pañcāla was included in Kururaṭṭha (Somanassa Jātaka, No. 505; Mbh. I, 138) and had its capital at Hastināpura (Dvd., p. 435), at other times it formed a part of Kampillaraṭṭha (Brahmadatta Jātaka, No. 323; Jayaddisa Jātaka, No. 513; and Gaṇḍatindu Jātaka, No. 520). Sometimes Kings of Kampillaraṭṭha held court at Uttara Pañcālanagara; at other times Kings of Uttara Pañcālaraṭṭha held court at Kampilla (Kumbhakāra Jātaka, No. 408)'.[1] This is the reason why King Dummukha of Uttara Pañcāla had his capital not at Ahicchatra but at Kampillanagara.

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[1] Vedic texts, however, refer to an eastern and western division of the country (Vedic Index, I, 469). The Pañcālas were known by the name of Krivi in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. The Krivis appear in the Ṛgveda as settled on the Sindhu (Indus) and Asiknī (Chenab)—CAGI., p. 705.

[2] The old name of Ahicchatra is Adhicchatra (preserved in an inscription; Luder's list of Brāhmī inscriptions, Index) which is nearer to the Greek form of Adisadra of Ptolemy (McCrindle's Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, p. 133—Ed. S. N. Majumder, 1927).

The Saṁyutta Nikāya tells us of Visākha of the Pañcālas who inspired the Bhikkhus with pious discourse delivered nicely in the meeting hall (Book of the Kindred Sayings, Vol. II, p. 190). From the Psalms of the Brethren (pp. 152-153) we learn that Visākha was the son of the daughter of the King of the Pañcālas. On the death of his father, he succeeded to his title. But when he heard the Buddha preaching the Norm, he left the world. He followed the Blessed One to Sāvatthī and won insight and sixfold abhiññā. Another Pañcāla King named Cūḷani Brahmadatta is mentioned in the Mahā-Ummagga Jātaka (No. 546) as well as in the Uttarādhyayana sūtra (S.B.E., XLV, 57–61), the Svapnavāsavadatta (Act V) and the Rāmāyaṇa (I, 32).

Pañcāla was originally the country north and west of Delhi from the foot of the Himalaya to the river Chambal, but it was divided into North and South Pañcāla, separated by the Ganges. It roughly corresponds to modern Budaon, Furrukhabad and the adjoining districts of the United Provinces.

Matsya.

The Matsya country comprises the modern territory of Jaipur; it included the whole of the present territory of Alwar with a portion of Bharatpur. From the Aṅguttara Nikāya (Vol. I, p. 213; IV, pp. 252, 256, 260) we know that the Matsya country was included in the traditional list of the sixteen Mahājanapadas. The Janavasabha Suttanta (DN., II, p. 200) tells us of the Matsyas or Macchas in connection with the account of the Buddha's stay at Nādika. In the Vidhura Paṇḍita Jātaka (Cowell's Jātaka, VI, p. 137) we read that the Macchas witnessed the dice-play of the King of the Kurus with the Yakkha Puṇṇaka.

The country of the Matsyas (RV., VII, 18, 6; Gopatha Br., I, 2, 9, Bibliotheca Indica Series) lay to the south or south-west of Indraprastha and to the south of Sūrasena. The capital of the Matsya country was Virāṭanagara or Vairāṭ, so called because it was the capital of Virāṭa, King of the Matsyas.

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[1] PHAI., p. 85.

Sūrasena.

In the Aṅguttara Nikāya, the Sūrasena country is mentioned as one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas. In one of the Jātakas (Cowell's Jāt., Vol. VI, p. 137) we are told that the Sūrasenas along with the Pañcālas, Matsyas and Maddas witnessed a dice-play between Dhanañjaya Korabba and Puṇṇaka Yakkha. The country had its capital at Madhurā or Mathurā, which like Kauśāmbī stood on the river Yamunā. The ancient Greek writers refer to the Sūrasena country[1] as Sourasenoi and its capital as Methora. From Saṅkissa, the place of the Buddha's descent from heaven, to Mathurā it was a distance of 4 yojanas (Kaccāyana's Pāli Grammar, S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇ's Ed., Book III, Chap. I, p. 157).

Buddhism was predominant in Mathurā for several centuries. The Vimānavatthu commentary (pp. 118-119) tells us of a woman of Uttara Madhurā who by offering alms to the Buddha was reborn in the Tāvatiṁsa heaven. One of the most important suttas on the subject of caste was delivered by Mahākaccāyana in Madhurā (MN., Vol. II, pp. 83 ff.). From the Aṅguttara Nikāya (Vol. II, p. 57) we know that when the Buddha was once proceeding from Mathurā to Verañji, he halted under a tree and there he was worshipped by many householders of either sex. In the Ghata Jātaka (Cowell's Jātaka, Vol. IV, pp. 50–52) we read that Mahāsāgara was the King of Upper Madhurā and that he had two sons whose accounts are recorded there as well as in the Petavatthu Commentary (pp. 111 ff.).

The epic and pauranic story of Kamsa's attempt to make himself a tyrant at Mathurā by overpowering the Yādavas, and his consequent death at the hands of Krishṇa is not only referred to by Patañjali but also by the Ghata Jātaka (No. 454). The Ghata Jātaka also confirms the brahmanical tradition about the association of Krishṇa Vāsudeva's family with Mathurā (PHAI., p. 89). 'The Buddhist texts refer to Avantiputta, King of the Sūrasenas, in the time of Mahākaccāna who was the first among the chief disciples of Śākyamuni through whose agency Buddhism gained ground in the Mathura region' (Ibid., p. 90).

When Megasthenes wrote about the Sūrasenas, Mathurā must have formed a part of the Maurya Empire. During the Kushāna supremacy, Mathurā again became important as a centre of Buddhist religion and culture. Numerous dated and undated images of Buddhas and Bodhisattwas as well as inscriptions have been unearthed here.

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[1] Madhu, King of the Daityas, and his son Lavana are said to have reigned at Mathurā. Satrughna, the brother of Rāma, killed Lavana and built Madhurā or Mathurā. A son of Satrughna was Sūrasena after whom the country is so called (Vāyu Purāṇa)—CAGI., p. 706.

Mathurā or Madhurā is generally identified with Maholi, 5 miles to the south-west of the present town of Mathurā or Muttra.

There was a second Mathurā or Madhurā in ancient India. It was the second capital of the Pāṇḍya kingdom on the river Vaigi, in the province of Madras. It was called Dakshiṇa-Mathurā to distinguish it from Mathurā of the north.

Assaka.

In the Aṅguttara Nikāya Assaka is mentioned as one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas of Jambudīpa (AN., I, p. 213; IV, pp. 252, 256, 260). From the Mahāgovinda Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya (Vol. II, p. 235) we learn that Potana was the capital city of the Assakas. In the Sutta-nipāta (verse 977) we find, however, mention of another Assaka country in the Dakkhiṇāpatha. We are told that the brahmin Bāvarī lived on the banks of the Godāvarī in the Assaka territory in close proximity to Aḷaka or Muḷaka (the district round Paithan). In a Jātaka story (Jāt., III, pp. 3–5) we find that the relationship between King Kālinga of Dantapura and King Assaka of Potana, was at first hostile. But afterwards the two kings lived amicably. In the Vimānavatthu Commentary (pp. 259 ff.) we find the story of an Assaka king who was ordained by Mahākaccāyana. In the Commentary the capital city is named Potanagara.

It should be noticed that the name of the capital city of the Assaka country is given both as Potali and Potana. It may seriously be asked if the two names are identical though their identity has always been accepted without doubt. At one time the city of Potali was included in the kingdom of Kāsī, for in the Assaka Jātaka (Jāt., II, p. 155) we are told that there was once a King named Assaka who reigned in Potali which is stated to be a city in the kingdom of Kāsī. The Cullakāliṅga Jātaka (Jāt., III, p. 3) mentions another King of Assaka named Aruṇa and refers to a victory which he won over the King of Kaliṅga. In the Hāthigumphā inscription of King Khāravela, it is stated that King Khāravela, without taking into account King Sātakarṇī, caused a large army to move towards the western quarter (Pachima disam) and strike terror into Asaka (or Asika) nagara. The Assaka of the Cullakāliṅga Jātaka and the Asikanagara of the Hāthigumphā inscription are probably identical with the Assaka of the Suttanipāta which is stated to be located on the Godāvarī.

Assaka represents the Sanskrit Aśmaka (or Aśvaka) which has been mentioned by Asaṅga in his Sūtrālaṅkāra as a country in the basis of the Indus. Asanga's Aśmaka seems, therefore, to be identical with the Kingdom of Assakenus of the Greek writers which lay to the east of the Saraswatī at a distance of about 25 miles from the sea on the Swat Valley. The Aśmakas are also mentioned by Pāṇini (IV, I, 173). They are placed in the north-west by the authors of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa and the Brihat-saṁhitā. It was a branch of this people of the north-west that probably settled in the territory known in the Aṅguttara Nikāya as Assaka Mahājanapada whose capital was Potana or Potali, the Paudanya of the Mahābhārata (1, 77, 47). In early Pāli literature Assaka has been distinguished from Muḷaka which lay to its north, but has always been associated with Avanti which lay immediately to the north-east. At the time of the Buddha, the Assakas had another settlement on the Godāvarī (S. Nip., V, 977) as already mentioned. This is probably referred to in the Cullakāliṅga Jātaka and in the Hāthigumphā inscription. Bhaṭṭaswāmi, the commentator of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra identifies Aśmaka, the contiguous territory of Avanti, with Mahārāshṭra. Practically speaking, therefore, the Assaka country of the Buddhists, whether it be identical with Mahārāshṭra or located on the Godāvarī, lay outside the pale of the Madhyadeśa.

Avanti.

Avanti is mentioned in the Aṅguttara Nikāya as one of the sixteen great janapadas. From the Dīpavaṁsa (Oldenberg's ed., p. 57) we know that Ujjenī, the capital of Avanti, was built by Accutagāmī. Ujjenī is also referred to in Minor Rock Edict No. 2 of Asoka. A kumāra was in charge of a province with his headquarters at Ujjenī.

Avanti roughly corresponds to modern Mālwa Nimār and adjoining parts of the Central Provinces. Prof. Bhandarkar has rightly pointed out that ancient Avanti was divided into two parts; the northern part had its capital at Ujjenī and the southern part called Avanti Dakshiṇāpatha had its capital at Māhissatī or Māhiśmatī (CL., p. 54). The Mahāgovinda suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya states that Māhissati was the capital of the Avantis whose King was Vessabhu. This apparently refers to the Avanti country in the Dakshiṇāpatha. The distinction is however noticed in the Mahābhārata where Avanti and Māhiṣmatī are said to be two different countries (II, 31, 10). Among other cities of Avaṉti referred to in Buddhist and Jain works, mention may be made of Kuraraghara and Sudarsanapura (B. C. Law, Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes, p. 148; Kathākoṣa, 18).

Avanti was an important centre of Buddhism. Some of the leading theras and therīs were either born or resided there, e.g., Abhayakumāra (Th. G.C., 39), Isidāsī (Therī G.C., 261–64), Isidatta (Th. G., 120), Soṇakuṭikaṇṇa (VT., pt. II, p. 32; Th. G., 369; Udāna, V, 6), and Mahākaccāna (SN., III, p. 9; Ibid., IV, p. 117; AN., I, p. 23, Vol. V, 46; MN., III, pp. 194, 223). From the Psalms of the Brethren (pp. 238-239) we learn that Kaccāyana the Great was born at Ujjenī in the family of the Chaplain of King Caṇḍapajjota. It is expressly stated that Mahākaccāna converted the King to the Buddhist faith. The Dhammapada commentary (Vol. V, p. 101) tells us that when

Mahākaccāna was living at the city of Kuraraghara in Avanti, he ordained an upāsaka named Sonakuṭikaṇṇa. The Psalms of the Brethren (p. 107) tells us that the Thera Isidatta was one of the converts of Mahākaccāyana. He was born in the kingdom of Avanti at Veḷugāma.

The commentary on verses 21–23 of the Dhammapada gives a romantic story of the way in which a matrimonial alliance was established between the royal families of Kosambī and Avanti. At the time of the Buddha, India was divided into small independent kingdoms. Of these kingdoms Magadha under Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu, Kosala under Pasenadi, Avanti under Pajjota, and Kosambī under Udena, played important rôles in the political drama of India in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. There was rivalry among these powers, each trying to extend its supremacy at the cost of another. Accordingly we find Pajjota trying to extend his supremacy over Udena. Pajjota, however, could not achieve his object. In the end Pajjota gave his daughter Vāsavadattā in marriage to Udena. This matrimonial alliance saved Kosambī from being conquered by Pajjota. Udena also established a matrimonial alliance with the King of Magadha. These two royal marriages were essentially necessary for the maintenance of the political independence of Kosambī which, however, served as a buffer state between Avanti and Magadha. Had not Udena contracted these alliances, Kosambī would have fallen an easy prey to the overgrowing powers of Magadha and Avanti.

Janapadas, Nigamas, Nagaras, Gāmas, etc.—
Apara-Gayā.

In the Mahāvastu (A Study of the Mahāvastu, pp. 156-57) we read that the Buddha, desirous of preaching the Dhamma to the Pañcavaggiya bhikkhus who were then in Benares, set out from Uruvilva. From Uruvilva the Buddha came to Gayā, from Gayā to Apara-Gayā where he was invited by Sudarsana, King of Snakes. He then came to Vesālī whence he went to a city named Cundadvīla, where he announced to the Ājivika named Upaka that without a master he had become 'Buddha'.

Ambasaṇḍā.

To the east of Rājagaha was the brahmin village of Ambasaṇḍā (DN., II, p. 263).

Andhakavinda.

Once the Buddha dwelt at Andhakavinda in Magadha. It is said that the Brahmā Sahampati saw the Blessed One there and uttered some verses in his presence (SN., I, p. 154).

Ayojjhā.

There are references to Ayojjhā in Pāli literature. In the Saṁyutta (Vol. III, p. 140) we are told that the Buddha once dwelt in Ayojjhā on the bank of the Ganges. During the Buddhist period, Ayojjhā on the Sarayū was the capital of Dakshiṇa Kośala, while that of Uttara Kośala was Sāvatthī on the Rāpti. Ayojjhā represents Sanskrit Ayodhyā of the Rāmāyaṇa and

A-yu-te of Yuan Chwang who places it 600 li to the south-east of the neighbourhood of Navadevakula city identified with Newal in Unao district, U.P. Ayodhyā is only a mile from Fyzabad. The janapada roughly corresponds to modern Oudh.

Andhapura.

Andhapura is mentioned in the Serivānija Jātaka (Jāt., Vol. I, p. 111). It is said that two dealers in pots and pans, who were inhabitants of the kingdom of Seri, came across the river Teḷavāha and entered the city of Andhapura and set about hawking the wares round the streets.

Āḷavī.

In the Tipallatthamiga Jātaka (Jāt., Vol. I, p. 160) it is said that hard by the town of Āḷavī was the Aggāḷava Cetiya. The Buddha while dwelling in Aggāḷava shrine near Āḷavī told a story concerning the regulation to be observed in the building of cells. Āḷavī has been identified by General Cunningham and Dr. Hoernle with Newal or Nawal in Unao district in U.P. According to Mr. Nandalal Dey, Āḷavī is Aviwa, 27 miles north-east of Etwah.

Anūpiya.

Near the town of Anūpiya was the Anūpiya mango grove. While dwelling once in this grove, the Blessed One told a story about the Elder Bhaddiya who joined the 'Brotherhood' in the company of the six young nobles with whom was Upāli (Sukhavihārī Jātaka, Jāt., Vol. I, p. 140).

Assapura.

In the Cetiya Jātaka (Jāt., Vol. III, p. 460) we are told that four sons of the King of Ceti built five cities: Hatthipura, Assapura, Sīhapura, Uttara Pañcāla, and Daddarapura. Hatthipura was built on the spot where the king's son saw a white royal elephant. Assapura was named as such as the king's son laid out the city in the very place where he saw a royal horse which was white. Sīhapura was named from a maned lion. Daddarapura was named from the two mountains striking against each other and making the sound of 'Daddara'.

It is difficult to identify the cities named in this Jātaka. Sīhapura, however, may be taken to represent Yuan Chwang's Seng-ho-pu-lo, or Singhapura situated at 700 li or 117 miles to the east of Taxila. But this is a mere conjecture and the Jātaka story cannot possibly be surmised to relate to the Gandhara region. Hatthipura again, however, may be taken to represent Hastināpura, traditionally identified with an old town in Mawāna tahsil, Merat (CAGI., p. 702).

Allakappa.

In the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta (DN., II) we are told that the Bulis of Allakappa obtained the possession of a portion of the relics of the Buddha and built a stūpa over them. The Bulis, like the Licchavis of Vesālī, the Videhas of Mithilā, the Sākiyas of Kapilavatthu, the Koliyas of Rāmagāma, the Bhaggas of

Suṁsumāra hill and the Moriyas of Pipphalivana, had a republican form of government. But their importance as a republican state was not very great.

Materials regarding the Bulis in Pāli literature are very meagre. The Dhammapada Commentary (Harvard Oriental Series 28, p. 247), however, refers to the kingdom of Allakappa. It was ten leagues in extent and its king was in intimate relationship with King Veṭhadipaka of Veṭhadīpa. In Beal's Si-yu-ki, Veṭhadīpa, the native land of Brāhmaṇa Droṇa, has been stated to be situated on the way from Masār in the Shāhābād district to Vaiśālī. It may, therefore, be assumed that Allakappa lay not very far from Veṭhadīpa.

Bhaddiya. Visākhā was born in the city of Bhaddiya in the Aṅga kingdom (Dh.C., Vol. I, p. 384).

Beluvagāma. The village of Beluva was in Vesālī (SN., Vol. V, p. 152).

Bhaṇḍagāma. Bhaṇḍagāma was situated in the country of the Vajjis (AN., II, p. 1).

Bharu. In the Bharu Jātaka (Jāt., Vol. II, p. 171) we find a reference to the kingdom of Bharu ruled over by a king named Bharu. It is difficult to locate the kingdom.

Bahaḍagojaṭira. Bahaḍagojaṭira is mentioned in the Barhut inscriptions. The location of the place is unknown. The name, however, implies that the place was on the bank of a river crossed by bullocks, cows, and goats (Barhut Inscriptions by Barua and Sinha, p. 7).

Bibikānadikaṭa. Bibikānadikaṭa is referred to in the Barhut inscriptions. This, as its name implies, was a place in the region of the Bimbikā river. But a river or a country of this name has not as yet been traced in any known list of geographical names (Ibid., p. 8).

Bodhicaka. Bodhicaka, mentioned in the Barhut inscriptions, is Sanskrit Bodhicakra. It is doubtful if this was the name of a locality though a similar name Ekacakra is met with in the Pauranic list of places (Ibid., p. 28).

Dhammapālagāma. In the Mahādhammapāla Jātaka (Jāt., IV, p. 50) we read that Dhammapālagāma was included in the kingdom of Kāsī.

Dabha. Dabha is probably identical with Sanskrit Darbha mentioned in the Brahmāṇḍa and a few other Purāṇas as a country located on the hills. It is mentioned in the Barhut inscriptions.

Dasārṇa. In the Mahāvastu the traditional list of the sixteen Mahājanapadas is referred to, but the names of the countries are not given. But a long list of countries is given in connection with the distribution of knowledge by the Buddha in various countries (A Study of the Mahāvastu, p. 9). The list, however, slightly differs from the traditional list of the sixteen Mahājanapadas found in the Aṅguttara Nikāya. The Mahāvastu list agrees with the Aṅguttara list except in this that the former omits Gandhāra and Kamboja and mentions Sivi and Dasārṇa countries instead.

Dasārṇa has been mentioned in the Mahābhārata (II, 5–10) as well as in the Meghadūtam of Kalidāsa (24-25), and is generally identified with Vidisā or Bhilsa region in the Central Provinces.

Ekasālā.

From the Saṁyutta Nikāya (Vol. I, p. 111) we know that the Buddha once stayed among the Kosalans at the brahmin village of Ekasālā.

Ekanālā.

In the Saṁyutta Nikāya (Vol. I, p. 172) we find a reference to the brahmin village of Ekanālā. It was in Magadha. We are told that the Blessed One once stayed on the Dakkhinagiri at Ekanālā.

Erakaccha.

In the Petavatthu (p. 20) there is a reference to the city of Erakaccha of the Dasaṇṇas. It is difficult to identify the Dasaṇṇā country, or to ascertain in which division it was located.

Isipatana.

It was at Isipatana Migadāya[1] that the Buddha for the first time delivered the Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta and converted the Pañcavaggiya bhikkhus (MN., I, pp. 170 ff.; cf. SN., V, pp. 420 ff.). The Migadāya was situated in Isipatana. It is Sarnath, six miles from Benares.

Gayā.

In the Sutta Nipāta (p. 47) we are told that once the Buddha dwelt at Gayā. The Yakkha Suciloma, it is said, threatened to harm the Blessed One, if he could not answer his questions. The Buddha said, in reply to the questions asked, that all passions proceeded from the body. Gayā comprises the modern town of Shahebganj on the northern side and the ancient town of Gayā on the southern side. Buddhagayā is six miles to the south of Gayā.

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[1] In the Divyāvadāna (pp. 389–94) we read that Asoka intimated his desire to the Thera Upagupta that he (Asoka) would worship and make those places (by erecting thūpas), which had been visited by the Buddha, out of compassion for the people who will come next (for the next generation). Asoka visited the Lumbinivana (the place of Buddha's birth), the Bodhimūla (where the Buddha attained Enlightenment), Isipatana Migadāya (where the Buddha first preached his sermon) and Kusinagara (where the Buddha attained the Mahāparinibbāṇa). He also visited other places connected with the life and activities of the Buddha. Thus the Divyāvadāna account of Asoka's pilgrimage to the Buddhist sacred places corroborates what Asoka says in his lithic records (R.E., VIII).

Hatthigāma.

In the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta (DN., II, p. 123) and in the Samyutta Nikāya (IV, p. 109) mention is made of Hatthigāma. It was in the Vajji country. From the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta we know that the Buddha in course of his journey from Rājagaha to Kusīnārā passed through Hatthigāma.

Haliddavasana.

Haliddavasana, a village in the Koliya country was visited by the Buddha (SN., V, p. 115). The Koliya country lay to the east of the Śākya territory. They had their capital at Kāmagāma. The introduction to the Kunāla Jātaka says that the Śākya and Koliya tribes had the river Rohiṇī which flowed between Kapilavastu and Rāmagāma. Both the tribes had the river confined by a single dam and they cultivated their crops by means of water of this river (Cowell's edition, Vol. V, pp. 219 foll.). From the Theragāthā (Verse 529, p. 56) it appears that the territories of the Śākyas and the Koliyas lay side by side and the river Rohiṇī formed the boundary between the two clans.

Himavantapadesa.

Majjhima propagated the Buddhist faith in the Himavantapadesa (Mv., Chap. XII). It has been identified by some with Tibet but Fergusson identifies it with Nepal. What is Himavantapadesa in the Mahāvaṁsa is, however, stated to be Cīnaraṭṭha mentioned in the Sāsanavaṁsa (p. 13). Prof. Rhys Davids identifies Himavantapadesa with the Central Himalayas. It is 3,000 yojanas in extent (Papañcasūdanī, II, p. 6).

Icchānaṅgala.

Icchānaṅgala was a brāhmaṇagāma in Kosala. Once the Buddha stayed at that village in the Icchānaṅgalavanasaṇḍa (AN., III, pp. 30, 341; Ibid., IV, p. 340). In the Suttanipāta (p. 115) the name of the village is given as Icchānaṁkala.

Jantugāma.

In the Aṅguttara Nikāya (Vol. IV, p. 354) it is said that once the Buddha was staying at the Cālikā-pabbata in Cālikā. The venerable Meghiya approached the Master and requested the Lord to permit him to go about for alms in Jantugāma. The Blessed One gave his permission and the latter went about for alms and in due course came up to the bank of the river Kimikālā.

Kākaṁdi.

Kākaṁdi is mentioned in the Barhut inscriptions. The location of the place is unknown.

Khujatimduka.

Khujatimduka is mentioned in the Barhut inscriptions. The location of the place is unknown. The Purāṇas mention Kubjaka and Kubjāmra among the holy places of India, but they do not seem to have any connection whatsoever with Khujatimduka.

Kalavāḷagāmaka.

From the Dhammapada Commentary (Vol. I, p. 96) we know that the village of Kalavāḷa was in the Magadharaṭṭha. We are told that while residing near this village Moggallāna fell into sloth on the 7th day after the day of his reception into the Order. Aroused by the Master, Moggallāna shook off sloth and completed meditation leading to the three higher paths and attained the goal of Perfection of Knowledge of chief disciples.

Kajaṅgala.

In the Mahāvagga (VT., II, p. 38) as well as in the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī (II, p. 429), Kajaṅgala is stated to have been the eastern limit of the Majjhimadesa. It is the Ka-chu-wen-ki-lo of Yuan Chwang who says that it was 2,000 li in circuit (Watters, II, p. 182). It is mentioned as Kajaṅgala in the commentary on the Rāmapālacarita (Anc. Geo. of India, p. 723). A Jātaka story tells us (Jāt., IV, 310) that Kajaṅgala was, even in Buddha's time, an ancient place where food could easily be got (dabbasambhārā sulabhā).

From the Milinda-pañho (p. 10) we know that it was a brāhmaṇagāma and was the place of Nāgasena's birth. The Aṅguttara Nikāya (Vol. V, p. 54) tells us that the Buddha once dwelt at Veluvana in Kajaṅgala. In the Majjhima Nikāya (Vol. III, p. 298) we read that the Buddha resided at Mukheluvana in Kajaṅgala and delivered the Indriyabhāvanā Sutta.

Koṭigāma.

From the Saṁyutta Nikāya (Vol. V, p. 431) we know that Koṭigāma was a village of the Vajjians. From the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta (DN., II, pp. 90-91) we know that the Buddha in course of the journey from Rājagaha to Kusīnārā passed through Koṭigāma.

Kuṇḍiya.

From the Asātarupa Jātaka (Jāt., Vol. I, 407) we know that near the city of Kuṇḍiya was the Kuṇḍadhānavana where the Buddha told a story about Suppavāsā, a lay sister, who was a daughter of King Koliya.

Kapilavatthu.

Kapilavatthu was the capital of the Śākya country, named after the Ṛṣi Kapila. The Lalitavistara calls it Kapilavastu and sometimes Kapilapura (p. 243) or Kapilāhvayapura (p. 28). These names occur also in the Mahāvastu (Vol. II, p. 11, line 3). The Divyāvadāna (p. 548) also connects Kapilavastu with the sage Kapila. The Buddhacarita (Book I, V. 2) also mentions it as *Kapilasya vastu*. The Mahāvastu says that Kapilavastu was surrounded by seven walls (Vol. II, p. 75).

The importance of the Śākyas in Indian history is due to the birth of the Buddha among them. The Mahāvastu (I, pp. 348 foll.) gives a story of the foundation of Kapilavastu and the settlement of the Śākyas there. According to Yuan Chwang it was about 500 li south-east from the neighbourhood of Śrāvastī.

Besides Kapilavastu there were also other Śākya towns: Cātumā, Sāmagāma, Ulumpā, Devadaha, Sakkara, Sīlavatī and Khomadussa.

The episode of Pasenadi's marriage with Vāsavakhattiyā, one of the daughters of a Śākya chief by a slave girl, proves how proud and aristocratic the Śākyas were. Some of the Śākya ladies, who became nuns, have left behind them poems and songs that are preserved in the Psalms of the Sisters: Tissā (Pss.S., pp. 12-13), Abhirūpanandā (Ibid., pp. 22-23), Mittā (Ibid., p. 29) and Sundarīnandā (Ibid., pp. 55–57).

The administrative and judicial business of the Śākya clan was carried out in their Santhāgāra or Mote hall at Kapilavatthu (Buddhist India, p. 19). The Lalitavistara gives 500 as the number of the members of the Śākya Council (pp. 136-137).

In the Dhammapada Commentary (III, p. 254) we are told that the Śākyas and the Koliyas caused the waters of the river Rohinī to be confined by a single dam between the city of Kapilavatthu and the city of Koliya, and cultivated the fields on both sides of the river. Once a quarrel broke out between the Sākiyas and the Koliyas regarding the possession of the river. The Buddha knowing that the quarrel would result in the destruction of both went to the place of the scene and brought about conciliation.

In one of the Jātakas (Jāt., IV, pp. 144 ff.) we are told that Viḍūḍabha, in order to crush the Sākiyas who deceived his father by giving him a daughter of a slave girl to marry, deposed his father and became king. He marched out with a large army and succeeded in annihilating the Sākiyas. But he with his army met with destruction.

In the Mahāvaṁsa Ṭīkā (pp. 119–121) we are told that some Sākiyas being oppressed by King Viḍūḍabha fled to the Himalayas where they built the Moriyanagara. It is now generally accepted that Candagutta, grandfather of Asoka the Great, belonged to the Moriya clan which had its seat of government at Pipphalivana. Kapilavatthu is referred to in both the Ceylonese chronicles, the Dīpavaṁsa and the Mahāvaṁsa.

Yuan Chwang visited Kapilavastu, the towns of Krakucandra and Konāgamana and Lumbinī or La-fa-ni grove, the birth place of Lord Buddha. The Rummindeī pillar inscription of Asoka locates beyond doubt the Lumbinī grove. The inscription on the Niglīva pillar (now situated 38 miles north-west of the Uskabazar station of B.N.W. Ry.) shows that it was erected near the stūpa of Konāgamana; but it is not in situ. The village of Piprāwā (Birdpur Estate, Basti District)—the findspot of the famous Piprāwā Vase—marks, according to Dr. Fleet, the site of Kapilavastu (J.R.A.S., 1906, p. 180; CAGI., pp. 711-712). Dr. Rhys Davids, however, takes Tilaura Kot to be the old Kapilavastu and Piprāwā to be the new city built after the destruction of the old city by Viḍūḍabha. Mr. P. C. Mukherjee concurs with Dr. Rhys Davids and identifies Kapilavatthu with Tilaura, 2 miles north of Tauliva which is the headquarters of the provincial government of the Tarai, and 3½ miles to the south-west of the Nepalese village of Nigliva, north of Gorakhpur, situated in the Nepalese Tarai. Rummine-deī is only 10 miles to the east of Kapilavatthu, and 2 miles north of Bhagavanpur.

Kesaputta.

The Kālāmas of Kesaputta were a small republican clan during the age of Bimbisāra, and have been mentioned along with other contemporary republican clans such as the Śākyas of Kapilavastu, the Koliyas of Rāmagāma, the Bhaggas of Suṁsumāra hill, the Bulis of Allakappa, and the Moriyas of Pipphalivana. According to the Buddhacarita (XII, 2) they were the clans to which the philosopher Āḷāra belonged. The Aṅguttara Nikāya (I, 188) seems to place Kesaputta in Kosala.[1]

Khemavatī.

It was the capital of King Khema's kingdom (DN., II, p. 7). The exact identity of the place is not known.

Mithilā.

Mithilā was the capital of the Videhas and is celebrated in the Epics as the land of King Janaka. At the time of the Buddha the Videha country was one of the eight constituent principalities of the Vajjian confederacy. Of these eight principalities the Licchavis of Vesālī and the Videhas of Mithilā were, however, the most important.

It is stated in one of the Jātakas (Cowell's Jāt., III, p. 222) that the city of Mithilā, the capital of the Videhas, was seven leagues and the kingdom of Videha, three hundred leagues in extent. In the Mahājanaka Jātaka (Cowell's Jātaka, IV, p. 204) the distance between Mithilā and Campā is given as sixty leagues. In one of the Jātakas (Cowell's Jātaka, III, p. 222) we read that the kingdom of Videha had 15,000 villages, 16,000 storehouses filled, and 16,000 dancing girls. It is clear from Dhammapāla's Paramatthadīpanī on the Theragāthā (pp. 277-278) that at the time of the Buddha, Videha was a centre of trade. We are told of people coming from Sāvatthī to Videha to sell their wares. It is also stated that the route passed through a desert.

Videha is identical with ancient Tīrabhukti, that is modern Tirhut. According to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (I, IV, 1) Videha was so named after Māthava the Videgha who colonized it. It was bounded by the Kausikī (Kosi) in the east, the Ganges in the south, the Sadānīrā (the Gandak or the Rāpti) in the west and the Himalayas in the north. According to the Rāmāyaṇa (Ādikāṇḍa, XLIX, 9–16; cf. Śānti Parva of the Mahābhārata, CCCXXVII, 12233–8), Mithilā was the name of the capital as well as of the country itself. Cunningham identifies the capital with Janakapura, a small town within the Nepal border, north of which the Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga districts meet (CAGI., p. 718).

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[1] 'The name of their capital "Kesaputta" reminds us of the Kesins, a people mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (Vedic Index, I, p. 186) and probably also in the Ashṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini (VI, 4. 165), and connected with the Pañcālas and Dālbhyas who appear in the Ṛgveda, V, 61, as settled on the banks of the Gomatī'—PHAI., p. 118.

Macalagāmaka. In one of the Jātakas (Jāt., I, 199) reference is made to a village named Macala in Magadha.

Naṁdinagara. It is mentioned in the Barhut inscriptions. The location of the place is unknown. If it be the same as Nandigrāma of the Rāmāyaṇa, then it may be identical with Nandgaon in Oudh.

Nagara or Nagari. The place is mentioned in the Barhut inscriptions. The location of the place is unknown. Is it identical with Nagarahāra mentioned in the Parāsaratantra, the Nang-go-lo-ho-lo of the Chinese, the Nagara or Dionysopolis of Ptolemy and identified with Jelalabad? If so, then it should be located in the Uttarāpatha division. But it may also be held to be identical with Nagarī or Nagara, 8 miles north of Chitorgadh State in Udaipur in Rajputana.

Nālandā. Nālandā is frequently referred to in early Pāli literature. The Buddha is said to have started once from Rājagaha for Nālandā (DN., I, pp. 1 foll.). In the Saṁyutta Nikāya it is stated that the Buddha once visited Nālandā from Kosala (Ibid., IV, p. 323). In the Majjhima Nikāya (Vol. I, p. 371) we read that once the Buddha dwelt in the Pāvārikambavana at Nālandā where he had a discussion with Dīgha Tapassi, a Nigaṇṭha, relating to the Nigaṇṭha doctrines and delivered the Upālisutta. In the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī (Vol. I, p. 35) we find that the distance from Rājagaha to Nālandā was one yojana, Nālandā is identified with modern Bargaon, 7 miles to the north-west of Rājgir in the district of Patna. Nālandā acquired an orient-wide celebrity as the most important seat of Buddhist learning and culture in the days of the Guptas from the sixth and seventh centuries onwards.

The famous Indrasilā cave may be located in the rugged hill rising immediately to the west of the Badgaon village.

Nālaka. Nālaka, a village in Magadha, was visited by Sāriputta (SN., IV, p. 251). We know that Sāriputta stayed among the Magadhans at Nalagāmaka which was not far from Rājagaha (Ibid., V, 161). This Nalagāmaka may be said to be identical with Nālaka. In the Mahāsudassana Jātaka (Jāt., I, p. 391) the name of the village where the Elder Sāriputta was born is given as Nāla. In the same Jātaka we read that Sāriputta died at Varaka (Ibid.).

Ñātika.

In the Saṁyutta Nikāya (II, p. 74) we are told that the Buddha stayed at Ñātika. It is called Nādika (of the Nādikas). The identification of the place is not known.

Pupphavatī.

In the Cariyāpiṭaka (Dr. B. C. Law's Ed., p. 7) we read that Canda-Kumāra was the son of Ekarāja of Pupphavatī. He offered charities whole-heartedly and he never ate anything without first giving it to a beggar. Pupphavatī was only another name for Bārānasī, the capital of the Kāsī kingdom (CL., pp. 50-51). Other names of Bārānasī were Surundhana, Sudassana, Brahmavaddhana, Rammanagara and Molini.

Pipphalivana.

The Moriyas of Pipphalivana are included in the list of the republican clans that existed in the time of the Buddha (Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta—DN., Vol. II, p. 167). There is little information about the Moriyas in Buddhist literature. From the Suttanta referred to above we come to know that they got a portion of the relics of the Buddha and erected a stūpa over the same. In the Mahāvaṁsa we are told that Candagutta, grandfather of Asoka, belonged to the Moriya clan. The Moriyas are, therefore, the same as the Mauryas.

Rāmagāma.

The Koliyas, one of the republican clans of the time of the Buddha, had two settlements, one at Rāmagāma and the other at Devadaha. The Sumaṅgalavilāsinī (pp. 260–262) tells us of the origin of the Koliyas. It is stated that a sage named Rāma, an ex-king of Benares who left his kingdom and retired to a forest as he was detested by his wives and relatives, married the eldest of the five daughters of King Okkāka, who had been forsaken by her relatives and forced to live in forest, and built a town in the forest removing a big Kola tree. The city henceforth came to be known as Kolanagara and the descendants of the king came to be known as Koliyas.

According to the Mahāvastu (Vol. I, pp. 352–55) the Koliyas were, however, descendants of the sage Kola. The Kunāla Jātaka (Jāt., V, p. 413) says that the Koliyas used to dwell in the Kola tree. Hence they came to be called the Koliyas.

In the Theragāthā (V, 529, p. 56) and in one of the Jātakas (Cowell's Jātaka, V, p. 219) we are told of a quarrel between the Śākyas and the Koliyas. The Buddha, however, brought about a conciliation between the two clans.

Rāmagāma is Rampur Deoriya in the district of Basti in Oudh.

Sāmagāma.

The Buddha once dwelt in the Sakka country in Sāmagāma and delivered the Sāmagāma Sutta (MN., II, p. 243). The Aṅguttara Nikāya (III, p. 309) also tells us that the Buddha once dwelt at Sāmagāmaka in the country of the Śākyas on the bank of a tank.

Sāpūgā.

Ānanda once stayed at Sāpūgan, a township of the Koliyas (AN., II, p. 194).

Sobhavatī.

It was the capital of King Sobha's kingdom (DN., II, p. 7).

Setavya.

Setavya was a city of the Kosala country. In the Aṅguttara Nikāya (Vol. II, p. 37) we find that it is near Ukkaṭṭha, and that there was a road from Ukkaṭṭha to Setavya.

Saṁkassa.

After the Buddha had performed the 'Double Miracle' and had made a stay in heaven, he descended at the city of Saṁkassa on the day of the great Pavāraṇā festival, and thence passed with a large following to Jetavana (Kaṇha Jātaka, Jāt., Vol. I, p. 193).

Saṁkassa is Saṅkissa or Sankisa-Basantapura, situated on the north bank of the river Ikkhumatī; now called Kālīnadī, between Atranji and Kanoj, and 23 miles west of Fatehgarh in the district of Etah and 45 miles north-west of Kanoj.

Sālindiya.

Sālindiya was a brāhman village on the east side of Rājagaha (Suvaṇṇa-Kakkhaka Jātaka, Jāt., Vol. III, p. 293).

Suṁsumāragirinagara.

The Bhaggas of Suṁsumāra Hill have frequently been referred to in Pāli literature. Suṁṣumāra Hill was doubtless the capital of the Bhagga country. There can also be no doubt about the fact that it was used as a fort. We know that in the lifetime of the Buddha, Prince Bodhi, son of King Udena of Kosambī, ruled over the Bhaggas as his father's viceroy. Bodhi became one of the followers of the Buddha (MN., II, p. 91; Jāt., III, p. 157). But the Bhagga country was really a republican country, for it is mentioned in the list of the republican clans in the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta (DN., II, p. 167). It may be that the Bhaggas were temporarily under the sway of Kosambī.

Senāpatigāma.

It is said that while the Buddha was engaged in deep meditation for six years at the Senāpatigāma in Uruvilva, a public woman named Gavā, kept a coarse cloth on the branch of a tree for the Buddha's use after meditation. By virtue of this noble deed, she was reborn in heaven as a nymph (A Study of the Mahāvastu, p. 154).

Puṇḍravardhana.

The Pauṇḍras or Pauṇḍrakas are mentioned several times in the Great Epic. They are once linked with the Vaṅgas and Kirātas (Sabhā, XIII, 584) while on another occasion are mentioned in connection with the Udras, Utkalas, Mekalas, Kaliṅgas, and Andhras (Vana P., LI, 1988; Bhīsma P., IX, 365; Droṇa, IV, 122). Pargiter therefore thinks that the Pauṇḍras once occupied the countries that are at present represented by the modern districts of Santal Parganas, Birbhum and northern portion of Hazaribagh.

Puṇḍravardhana, according to the Divyāvadāna (J.R.A.S., 1904, p. 86), was the eastern boundary of the Majjhimadesa and is identical with the Pun-na-fa-tan-na of Yuan Chwang.

Tanasuliya or Tanasuli.

It is evident from the record of Khāravela's fifth regnal year (Hāthigumphā inscription) that Kaliṅganagara, the capital of Khāravela's kingdom of Kaliṅga was not far from Tanasuliya or Tanasuli road wherefrom a canal opened by King Nanda was led by extension into the city of Kaliṅga. Dr. Barua says in his book on Old Brāhmī Inscriptions (p. 14) that Tanasuliya or Tanasula is a name which stands in contrast with Mahāsuliya or Mahāsuli, tan or tanu being the opposite form of Mahā or Maha.

Thūna.

Thūna probably represents Sthūna of the Divyāvadāna and was a brāhmaṇagāma (Jāt., VI, p. 62) that formed the western boundary of the Buddhist Majjhimadesa. Thūna has not been identified by any scholar. As Yuan Chwang's account makes Thaneswar the westernmost country of the Buddhist Majjhimadesa, Prof. Mazumdar proposes to identify Thūna with Sthāniswara or Thaneswar (Cunningham's Geography of Ancient India by S. N. Mazumdar, Introduction, p. xliii).

Ukkācelā.

In the Majjhima Nikāya we are told that the Buddha dwelt at Ukkācelā on the bank of the river Ganges in the Vajji country and delivered the Cūḷagopālaka Sutta. In the Saṁyutta (Vol. V, p. 163) we find that the Buddha stayed among the Vajjians at Ukkācelā on the river Ganges together with a great company of bhikkhus, not long after the passing away of Sāriputta and Moggallāna.

Upatissagāma.

The village of Upatissa was not far off from Rājagaha (Dh.C., I, p. 88).

Ugganagara.

In the Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā (Dh.C., III, p. 465) we find a reference to the Ugganagara. It is said that a certain seṭṭhi named Ugga came to Sāvatthī on business purposes from Ugganagara.

Usīnārā.

There are numerous references to Usīnārā in Pāli literature. In the Divyāvadāna (p. 22) mention is made of Usīragiri. Dr. Roy Chaudhuri rightly points out that Usīnaragiri mentioned in the Kathāsaritsāgara is doubtless identical with Usīragiri of the Divyāvadāna and Usīradhaja of the Vinaya Texts (S.B.E., Pt. II, p. 39) where it has been described as the northern boundary of the Buddhist Majjhimadesa. It was a mountain to the north of Kaṅkhal (Hultzsch in I.A., 1905, p. 179).

Verañja City.

Once the Buddha after passing the rainy season at Verañja arrived at Sāvatthī in due course (Cullasuka Jātaka, Jāt., Vol. III, p. 494).

Vettavatī.

The city of Vettavatī was on the bank of the river of that name (Mātaṁga Jātaka—Jāt., Vol. IV, p. 388). It is doubtless identical with Sanskrit Vetravatī mentioned in Kālidāsa's Meghadūtaṁ. The Vettavatī river is identified with the modern Betva, a small tributary of the Ganges.

Venuvagāma.

The Barhut inscriptions mention Venuvagāma as a suburb of Kosambī. Cunningham identifies it with the modern village of Ben-Purwa to the north-east of Kosam.

Vedisa.

Vedisa, mentioned in Barhut inscriptions, is Pāli Vidisā and Sanskrit Vaidiśa. It is, according to Cunningham, the old name of Besnagar, a ruined city situated in the fork of the Bes or Vedisa river and the Betwa within 2 miles of Bhisa. Vaidiśa was, according to the Purāṇas, situated on the bank of the Vidisā river which took its rise from the Pāripātra mountain.

Vidisā came for the first time into prominence in Buddhism in connection with the viceroyalty of Asoka. Asoka, while he was a viceroy at Ujjain, married a Vaiśya girl from Vessanagara or Vaiśyanagara which was evidently the old name of Besnagar. Since the time of Asoka it became an important centre of Buddhism and later on of Vaiṣṇavism.

Yavamajjhaka.

In the Mahā-Ummaga Jātaka (Jāt., VI, pp. 330-331) Yavamajjhaka occurs as a general name for four market towns distinguished as eastern, southern, western and northern according to their respective positions near the four gateways of the city of Mithilā, the capital of Videha.

Rivers, Lakes, Tanks, etc.—Aciravatī.

In the Saṁyutta Nikāya (Vol. II, p. 135; Vol. V, pp. 401, 460-461) as well as in the Aṅguttara Nikāya (Vol. IV, p. 101; Vol. V, p. 22), Aciravatī is mentioned as one of the five great rivers or Mahānadī. The four other rivers mentioned are: Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sarabhu, and Mahī. In the Sālittaka Jātaka (Jāt., Vol. I) and in the Kurudhamma Jātaka (Jāt., Vol. II) we find that the river Aciravatī was near Sāvatthī. This is also borne out by a story in the Dhammapada Commentary (Vol. III, p. 449) in which we read that there was a certain village named Paṇḍupura not far off from the city of Sāvatthī, where dwelt a certain fisherman who on his way to Sāvatthī saw some tortoise eggs lying on the bank of Aciravatī. In the Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā (Vol. I, pp. 359-360) we are told how Pasenadi's son Viḍūḍabha met the Śākyas in battle on the bank of the Aciravatī river and completely routed them. In vain did the Buddha try to save the Śākyas. But Viḍūḍabha and his army also met with destruction; the Aciravatī overflowed and carried all into the sea. In the Dīgha Nikāya (Vol. I, p. 235) we read that once the Buddha went to Manasākaṭa, a brahmin village in the Kosala country and dwelt at Ambavana on the bank of the river Aciravatī to the north of Manasākaṭa.

Aciravatī is the river Rapti in Oudh, on which the town of Sāvatthī was situated. It was also called Ajiravatī and its shortened form is Airāvatī. It is a tributary of the river Sarayū.

Anomā.

At the time of his great Retirement the Buddha took with him Channa, his courtier, and Kaṇṭhaka, his horse. He left Kapilavatthu and proceeding to the bank of the river Anomā, he retired from the world and adopted the life of a monk (Dh. A., I, p. 85).

According to Cunningham, Anomā is the river Aumi, in the district of Gorakhpur. But Carlleyle identifies the river Anomā with the Kudawa Nadī in the Basti district of Oudh.

Bāhukā and Bāhumatī.

In the Majjhima Nikāya (Vol. I, p. 39) we are told that while Bāhukā, Sundarikā, Sarasvatī and Bāhumatī were rivers, Gayā and Payāga were tīrthas only, or ghats on the Ganges. Bāhukā may be the Bāhudā river of the Mahābhārata and Harivaṁśa, identical with the river Dhabala now called Dhumela or Burha Rāpti, a feeder of the Rāpti in Oudh. Pargiter, however, identifies it with Rāmagaṅgā which joins the Ganges near the Kanoj. As regards Bāhumatī, an identification may be suggested with Bāgmatī, a sacred river of the Buddhists in Nepal. Bāgmatī is called Bachmati as it was created by the Buddha Krakucchanda by word of mouth during his visit of Nepal. Its junction with the rivers Maradārika, Manisrohi, Rājamañjari, Ratnāvaḷī, Chāruṃatī, Prabhāvatī, and Triveṇī form the tīrthas called Śānta, Śaṅkara, Rājamañjari, Pramodā, Sulakeshaṇa, Jayā and Gokarṇa respectively (Svayambhū Purāṇa, Chap. V; Varāhapurāṇa, Chap. 215).

Campā.

The river Campā formed the boundary between Aṅga and Magadha (Campeyya Jātaka—Jāt., IV, p. 454).

Chaddantā.

It is mentioned in the Aṅguttara Nikāya, Vol. IV, p. 101, as a lake, but has not yet been identified.

Eṇī.

Eṇī has been referred to in the Baka-Brahma Jātaka (Jāt., III, 361).

Gaṅgā.

The river Gaṅgā has been mentioned frequently in ancient Pāli literature, and is identical with the great sacred river on the banks of which the drama of Indian history has so often been enacted—the Ganges which is famous in early, mediæval and modern history of India. According to the Sigāla Jātaka (Jāt., Vol. I, p. 502) she flowed by the city of Bārāṇasī. There is a confluence between this river and Yamunā (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, II, p. 652).

Gaggarā pokkharaṇī.

From the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī (pt. I, p. 279) we learn that the Buddha taught the people of Campā the dhamma on the bank of Gaggarā tank. We are told that it was dug by the queen Gaggarā, and was not far off from the city of Campā.

Hiraññavatī.

The Sālavana of the Mallas of Kusīnārā was on the bank of the river Hiraññavatī (DN., II, p. 137). The Hiraññavatī is the Little Gandak and the same as Ajitavatī near Kusīnārā or Kusīnagara. It flows through the district of Gorakhpur about eight miles west of the Great Gandak and falls into the Gogrā (Sarayū).

Jetavanaloka.

It is mentioned in the Samuddavānija Jātaka (Jāt., IV, p. 158) as a tank, but it has not yet been identified.

Kebuka.

The Kākāti Jātaka (Jāt., III, p. 91) states Kebuka to be a river; but it is difficult to identify it.

Kosikī.

The Kiṁchanda Jātaka (Jāt., Vol. V, p. 2) refers to Kosikī as a branch of the Ganges. It is identical with the river Kusi.

Ketumatī.

It is stated in the Vessantara Jātaka (Jāt., Vol. VI, p. 518) that the King Vessantara with his wife and children proceeded to Gandhamādana. Then setting his face northward he passed by the foot of Mount Vipula and rested on the bank of the river Ketumatī. He crossed the stream and then went on to the hill called Nālika. Still moving northward he reached the lake Mucalinda.

Kakutthā.

While going to Kusīnārā from Rājagaha, the Buddha had to cross the river Kakutthā. Having crossed the river he arrived at Ambavana and then proceeded to the Malla's Sāla-grove near Kusīnārā.

Kakutthā is the small stream Barhi which falls into the Chota Gaṇḍak, eight miles below Kasia. Carlleyle has identified it with the river Ghāgī, one and half miles to the west of Chitiyaon in the Gorakhpur district. Lassen identifies Kakanthis of Arrian with the river Bāgmati of Nepal.

Kaddama-daha.

Kaddama-daha, a river on the bank of which Mahākaccāna once took up his residence for some time, has been mentioned in the Aṅguttara Nikāya (Vol. I, p. 65).

Kimikālā.

In the Aṅguttara Nikāya (Vol. IV, p. 354) we are told that once while the Buddha was staying at Cālikā on the Cālikāpabbata the venerable Meghiya sought the permission of the Buddha to go to Jantugāma. While returning from the village after his meal he reached Kimikālā.

Kuṇāla.

It has been described as a lake in the Kunāla Jātaka (Jāt., V, p. 419; AN., IV, p. 101) but has not yet been identified.

Kaṇṇamuṇḍā.

Kaṇṇamuṇḍā has been described in the Aṅguttara Nikāya (Ibid.) as a river, but has not yet been identified.

Khema.

Khema, a lake that was excavated by the King of Benares named Bahuputtaka (Haṁsa Jātaka, Jāt., IV, p. 424).

Mānusiya.

A lotus lake near the city of Sakula in the kingdom of Mahiṁsaka (Cullahaṁsa Jātaka, Jāt., V, p. 337) which, however, is difficult to be identified.

Maṅgalapokkharaṇī.

Maṅgalapokkharaṇī has been described in the Atthasālinī (p. 33) that while he was sitting on the bank of the Maṅgalapokkharaṇī, the Buddha got the news of Rāhula's death.

Markaṭa-hrada.

Once the Buddha dwelt at Vaisālī in the Kūṭāgārasālā on the bank of the lake Markaṭa (Dvd., p. 200).

Mahī.

Mahī, one of the five great rivers (AN., IV, p. 101; Milindapañha, p. 114; S. Nip., p. 3) mentioned in Pali literature. The river Mahī is a tributary of the Gaṇḍaka.

Migasammatā.

The Migasammatā, a river, had its source in the Himavanta and had fallen in the Ganges (cf. 'Himavantato Gaṅgaṁ pattā', Jāt., VI, p. 72).

Rathakāra.

Rathakāra has been described as a lake in the Aṅguttara Nikāya (Vol. IV, p. 101).

Rohanta.

The Rohanta-Miga-Jātaka (Jāt., Vol. IV, p. 413) describes Rohanta as a lake which however has not been identified.

Rohiṇī.

Rohiṇī has been referred to in the Jātakas (Rukkhadhamma Jātaka, Jat., Vol. I, p. 327; Phandana Jātaka, Jāt., Vol. IV, p. 207) as a river. Once a quarrel broke out among the Sākiyas and the Koliyas regarding the possession of the river Rohiṇī. But the Buddha succeeded in restoring peace among his kinsfolk. Rohiṇī formed the boundary between the Śākya and the Koliya countries.

Sappinī.

Sappinī, a river, in Rājagaha (SN., I, p. 153). In the Aṅguttara Nikāya (Vol. II, p. 29) we are told that the Buddha once went from the Gijjhakūṭa mountain at Rājagaha to the bank of the river Sappinī to meet some wanderers. The Pañchāna river is perhaps the ancient Sappinī.

Sutanu.

The Saṁyutta Nikāya (Vol. V, p. 297) describes Sutanu as a river on whose bank Anuruddha stayed for once.

Mandākinī.

Mandākinī, a river (AN., IV, p. 101). It is the Kāligaṅgā or the western Kāli or Mandāgni, which rises in the mountains of Kedāra in Gharwal. It is a tributary of Alakānandā.

Cunningham, however, identifies it with Mandākin, a small tributary of Paisundi in Bundelkhand which flows by the side ofMount Chitrakūta.

Nerañjarā.

After the attainment of the Perfect Enlightenment the Buddha dwelt at Uruvelā in the Ajapāla Nigrodha on the bank of the river Nerañjarā. It is the river Phalgu mentioned in Asvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita. Its two branches are the Nilājanā and the Mohanā, and their united stream is called Phalgu. Buddhagayā is situated at a short distance to the west of the Nilājanā or Niranjanā which has its source near Simeria in the district of Hazaribagh.

Satadru.

It is said that the Kinnarī Manoharā, wife of Prince Sudhanu who was the son of Suvāhu, King of Hastināpura, while going to the Himalayas, crossed the river Satadru and proceeded to the Mount Kailash (A Study of the Mahāvastu, p. 118). Satadru is modern Sutlej, a tributary of the Ganges.

Sundarikā.

Sundarikā has been described in the Saṁyutta Nikāya (Vol. I, p. 167) as a river in Kosala.

Sumāgadhā.

A tank near Rājagaha (Saṁyutta, Vol. V, p. 447).

Simbalī.

It is mentioned in the Kākāti Jātaka (Jāt., Vol. III, p. 90) as a lake.

Sarabhū.

The Milindapañho (p. 114) refers to Sarabhū as a river issuing forth from the Himavanta. It is Ghagra or Gogra, a tributary of the Ganges on which stood the city of Ayojjhā. It is the Sarabos of Ptolemy, and is one of the five great rivers mentioned in early Pāli literature.

Sarassatī.

Sarassatī is evidently the Sanskrit Sarasvatī mentioned in Vedic and Brahmanical literature. According to the Brāhmaṇas, the Kāvyamīmāṁsā and Manu Saṁhitā, it formed the western boundary of the Brahmanical Madhyadeśa. According to the Milindapañho (p. 114) the Sarassatī issued forth from the Himavanta. It rises in the hills of Sirmur in the Himalayan range called the Sewalik and emerges into the plains at Ād-Badri in Ambala. Like the Ganges, the river Sarassatī or Sarasvatī is considered as sacred by the Hindus.

Ūhā.

The river Ūhā was in the Himavanta (Milindapañho, p. 70).

Vidhavā.

Vidhavā, a river in the Himavanta (cf. 'Anto Himavante'; Jāt., Vol. III, p. 467).

Vettavatī or Vetravatī.

Vetravatī, a river, is mentioned in the Milindapañho (p. 114). From the Mātaṅga Jātaka (Jāt., Vol. IV, p. 388) we know that the city of Vettavatī was on the banks of the river of that name. It is the river Betwa in the kingdom of Bhopal, an affluent of the Jumnā, on which stands Bhilsā or the ancient Vidisā.

Vetaraṇī.

The river Vetaraṇī is referred to in the Saṁyutta (Vol. I, p. 21) where it is stated to be the river Yama (cf. Yamassa Vetaraṇiṁ). The Buddhist tradition, therefore, seems to support the Brahmanical tradition of the Vaitaraṇī being the Yama's river. In this river the hellish creatures suffer (cf. Jāt., V, p. 276).

It is the river Vaitaraṇī in Orissa and is mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Vana P. Chap. 113) as being situated in Kaliṅga. It is again identified with the river Dantura which rises near Nāsik and is in the north of Bassein. This sacred river is said to have been brought down to the earth by Parasurāma (Padma and Matsya Purāṇas). According to the Mahābhārata (Vana P. Chap. 83) it is a river in Kurukshetra. It is further identified with a river in Gharwal on the road between Kedara and Badrinātha.

Yamunā.

Yamunā is one of the five great rivers mentioned in early Pāli literature (AN., IV, p. 101; SN., Vol. II, p. 135; Vol. V, pp. 401, 460, 461). It is the modern Jumna.

Mountains, Hills, Caves, etc.—Ahogaṅgā Pabbata.

The Ahogaṅgā-pabbata is a mountain in India. It is said that the venerable Moggaliputta Tissa Thera, having made over his disciples to the thera Mahinda, went to the Ahogaṅgā mountain near the source of the Ganges (Mv., p. 51).

Arañjarā.

The Sarabhaṅga Jātaka (Jāt., Vol. V, p. 134) refers to the Anañjara which seems to be a chain of mountains in the Central Provinces.

Anoma and Asoka.

The Anoma and Asoka mountains do not seem from their description in the Apadāna (pp. 345 and 342 respectively), to have been far off from the Himavanta.

Cittakūṭa.

According to the Apadāna (p. 50), the Cittakūṭa mountain was not also very far off from the Himavanta. It has, however, been identified with Kāmptanāth-giri in Bundelkhand. It is an isolated hill on a river called the Paisunī or Mandākinī.

It is about four miles from the Chitrakūṭa station of the G.I.P. Railway.

Cāvala.

The Cāvala mountain has been described in the Apadāna to be not far off from the Himavanta (Apadāna, p. 451).

Cittala.

We find mention of the Cittala mountain not only in the Atthasālinī (p. 350), but also in the Visuddhimagga (p. 292). In the latter there is also a reference to a vihāra on it.

Cetiya.

The Atthasālinī also refers to the Cetiya Pabbata (p. 200) which, however, is difficult to be identified.

Corapapāta.

According to the reference in the Dīgha Nikāya, (Vol. II, p. 116) the Corapapāta seems to have been a hill near Rājagaha.

Daṇḍakahiraññā pabbata.

This mountain seems to have been located in the Himavantapadesa (Jāt., Vol. II, p. 33).

Gandhamādana.

In the Gaṅgamāla Jātaka (Jāt., Vol. III, p. 452) we are told that a certain ascetic came from the mountain Gandhamādana to Benares to see the king. It is a part of the Rudra Himalaya, but according to the epic writers it forms a part of the Kailāsa range.

Gayā-śirṣa.

The Gayāśirṣa mountain is situated at Gayā from where the Gotama Buddha went to Uruvilva for the attainment of Perfect Enlightenment. (A Study of the Mahāvastu, p. 81.)

Gotama.

According to the description given in the Apadāna (p. 162) the Gotama mountain seems to be not far off from the Himavanta.

Gijjhakūṭa.

Gijjhakūṭa is a mountain in Magadha (VV.C., p. 82). It is so called because its peak is like a vulture (Papañcasudanī, II, 63). According to Cunningham it is a part of the Śailagiri, the vulture peak of Fahien and Indasilāguhā of Yuan Chwang. It lies two miles and a half to the south-east of new Rājgir. It is also called Giriyek hill.

Himavanta.

In the Aṅguttara Nikāya the Himavanta is mentioned as the Pabbatarāja (AN., I, p. 152). We are told in the Kunāla Jātaka (Jāt., Vol. V, pp. 412 foll.) that once there broke out a quarrel between the Koliyas and the Sakiyas regarding the possession of the river Rohiṇī which flows between the Sākiya and Koliya countries. Buddha, however, succeeded in settling the dispute. Many Koliya and Sakiya people were ordained. But spiritual discontent sprang up among them. The Blessed one conducted these brethren to the Himalayas and after illustrating the sins connected with woman-kind by the Kunāla

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पुस्तकालय

story, and removing their discontent, bestowed upon them the stage of sanctification. The Master transported them to the Himalayas and standing in the sky pointed out to them in a pleasant tract of the Himalayas various mountains: Golden mount, Jewel mount, Vermillion mount, Collyaium mount, Tableland mount, Crystal mount, and five great rivers, and the seven lakes, Kaṇṇamuṇḍaka, Rathakāra, Sīhappapāta, Chaddanta, Tiyaggala, Anotatta, and Kunāla.

In the Milindapañho (p. 114) it is stated that 500 rivers issued forth from the Himavanta and that of these ten are important. They are: Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Aciravatī, Sarabhū, Mahī, Sindhu, Sarassatī, Vetravatī, Vitaṁsā and Candabhāgā.

Indasāla Cave.

It is stated in the Dīgha N., (Vol. II, pp. 263-4, 269) that to the east of Rājagaha was the Brahmin village of Ambasaṇḍā. To the north of Ambasaṇḍā was the Indasāla Cave in the Vediyakapabbata which however seems to be the same as the Gijjhakūṭapabbata. In the Barhut inscriptions, the name of the cave is however given as Indasālaguhā which has been identified with the Giriyek hill six miles from Rājgir.

Indakūṭa.

Indakūṭa is near Rājagaha (SN., I, p. 206).

Isigilipassa.

It is near Rājagaha. It is one of the groups of hills above Rājagaha, namely, Gijjhakūṭa, Vebhāra, Pāṇḍava and Vepulla.

Kukkura, Kosika, and Kadamba.

These pabbatas are stated in the Apadāna (pp. 155, 381 and 382 respectively) to be not very far off from the Himavanta.

Kālāgiri.

The Kālāgiri is mentioned in the Vidhura Paṇḍita Jātaka (Jāt., Vol. VI, p. 302). This Kālāgiri is the same as the Kāḷapabbata mentioned in the same Jātaka.

Kuraraghara.

The Kuraragharapabbata is in Avanti. Mahākaccāna once dwelt in this mountain (AN., V, p. 45).

Kālasīlā.

Kālasīlā is at Rājagaha (DN., II, p. 116).

Manosilā.

Monosilā, a mountain (Kumbhakāra Jātaka, Jāt., III, p. 379).

Manipabbata.

It is in the Himavanta (Jāt., Vol. II, p. 92).

Mahākāla.

It is a mountain in the Himavanta (Jāt., Vol. V, p. 38).

Meru.

It is referred to in the Therīgāthā Commentary (p. 150), and is identical with the Rudra Himālaya in Gharwal where the river Ganges takes its rise. It is near the Badarikā Āśram, and is probably the Mount Meros of Arrian.

Nerupabbata. The Nerupabbata is in the Himavanta (Milindapañho, p. 129). In the Neru Jātaka (Jāt., Vol. III, 247), it is called the Golden mountain.

Pācīnavaṁsa. It is a legendary name of Mount Vepulla (SN., II, pp. 190-1).

Pipphaliguhā pabbata. It is at Rājagaha. According to the Saṁyutta Nikāya (Vol. V, p. 79) thera Mahākassapa resided in the Pipphaliguhā pabbata.

Paṇḍavapabbata is mentioned in the Atthasālinī (p. 34).

Phalika, and Rajatapabbata. All these mountains are in the Himavanta probably meaning thereby that they are names of different parts or peaks of the great Himalaya mountain (Jāt., V, 415 and Jāt., II, p. 6 respectively).

Sattapaṇṇiguhā. The First Buddhist Council was held at Rājagaha in the Sattapaṇṇi cave of the Vebhāra pabbata under the presidency of Mahākassapa and under the patronage of Ajātasattu (Samantapāsādikā, p. 10).

Suvaṇṇaguhā. It is in the Cittakūṭapabbata which is in the Himavantapadesa (Jāt., Vol. III, p. 208).

Suvaṇṇapabbata and Sānupabbata. Both are mentioned in the Jātakas (Jāt., Vol. II, p. 92 and Jāt., Vol. V, p. 415) to be in the Himavantapadesa.

Sineru. In the Dhammapada Commentary (Vol. I, p. 107) we are told that the Mount Sineru was sixty-eight thousand leagues high. It is described as a mountain in the Kulāvaka Jātaka (Jāt., Vol. I, p. 202) as well.

Setapabbata. It is in the Himalayas (SN., I, p. 67) to the east of Tibet.

Suṁsumāragiri. The Saṁyutta Nikāya (Vol. III, p. 1) seems to locate it in the Bhagga country.

Sappasoṇḍikapabhāra. It is at Rājagaha (DN., II, p. 116).

Vepulla. This is a mountain in Magadha.

Vebhāra. Vebhāra is a mountain in the Magadha country. In the Vimānavatthu Commentary (p. 82) we are told that the city of Giribbaja was encircled by the mountains Isigili, Vepulla, Vebhāra, Paṇḍara and Gijjhakūṭa.

Vedisagiri. In the Samanta-Pāsādikā (p. 70) we are told that Mahinda who was entrusted with the work of propagating Buddhism in Ceylon, in course of his journey from Pāṭaliputta, halted at the Dakkhiṇagiri janapada (Vedisā), the capital of which was Ujjenī. He stayed at the Vedisagiri Mahāvihāra which was built by his mother and thence he went to Tambapaṇṇi.

Parks, Forests and Jungles—Ambavana.

In the Dīgha Nikāya (Vol. I, pp. 47, 49) we are told that once the Buddha dwelt at Rājagaha in the Ambavana of Jīvaka, the royal physician. It was here that Ajātasattu, the king of Magadha, came to see the Buddha. In the Dīgha Nikāya (Vol. II, p. 134) we are told in connection with the Buddha's journey from Rājagaha to Kusīnārā that the Buddha crossed the river Kakutthā and went to the Ambavana. In the Saṁyutta (Vol. IV, p. 121) we are informed that once the venerable Udāyin stayed at Kāmaṇḍā in the Ambavana of the brahmin Todeyya. Ambavana is a thicket of mango trees (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, II, 399).

Ambapālivana.

In the Dīgha Nikāya (Vol. II, p. 94) we find that the Buddha once went from Nādikā to Vesalī and dwelt in the Ambapālivana in Vesālī. This park was a gift from the courtesan named Ambapālī.

Ambāṭakavana.

The Ambāṭakavana is mentioned in the Saṁyutta Nikāya (Vol. IV, p. 285). It is stated that many bhikkhus dwelt at Macchikāvanasaṇḍa in the Ambāṭakavana. Citta, the householder, it is said, invited them to his house and had many philosophical discussions with them.

Anupiya-Ambavana.

The Anupiya-Ambavana was in the Mallaraṭṭha (Manorathapūranī, p. 274).

Añjanavana (Añcanavana).

The Buddha once dwelt in the Deer Park in the Añjanavana at Sāketa (SN., I, p. 54; V, pp. 219, 73).

Andhavana.

The Andhavana is referred to as located in Sāvatthī (SN., V., p. 302).

Daṇḍakarañña.

It is mentioned in the Milindapañho (p. 130). According to Mr. Pargiter, it comprised all the forests from Bundelkhand to the river Krishṇā. The Daṇḍakarañña along with the Viṅjjhas thus practically separated the Majjhimadesa from the Dakkhiṇāpatha.

Icchānaṅgala-vanasaṇḍa.

The Buddha once stayed at the brāhmaṇagāma of Icchānaṅgala in the Icchānaṅgala-vanasaṇḍa. This is in Kosala (AN., III, pp. 30, 341; IV, p. 340). It is also mentioned in the Sutta Nipāta (p. 115).

Jetavana.

The Jetavana is frequently mentioned in Pāli literature. In the Dīgha Nikāya (Vol. I, p. 178) we are told that once the Buddha dwelt at Jetavana in the pleasure garden of Anāthapiṇḍika at Sāvatthī. There the Buddha spoke on the subject of right training to Poṭṭhapāda, the wanderer. The Jetavana is one mile to the south of Sāvatthī which is identified with modern Sahet-Maheth. It was a gift from the merchant named Anāthapiṇḍika to the Buddha and the Order.

Jātiyavana. It is in the country of the Bhaddiyas (Aṅguttara, Vol. III, p. 36).

Kappāsiyavanasaṇḍa. In the Manorathapūraṇī (p. 100) we are told that the Buddha converted the Tiṁsa Bhaddavaggiyā bhikkhus at Kappāsiyavanasanda.

Ketakavana. The Ketakavana is in Kosala near the village of Naḷakapāna (Naḷapāna Jātaka, —Jāt., Vol. I, 170).

Kalandakanivāpa. It is at Rājagaha (AN., II, pp. 35, 172, 179; III, p. 35; IV, pp. 402). In the Majjhima Nikāya (Vol. III, p. 128) we are told that once the Buddha dwelt in the Kalandakanivāpa at Veluvana in Rājagaha.

Laṭṭhivana. In the Monorathapūraṇī (p. 100) it is said that at Laṭṭhivana King Bimbisāra was converted by the Buddha. It is about two miles north of Tapovana in the district of Gayā.

Lumbinivana. The Lumbinivana is referred to in the Buddhacarita (I, Verse 23; XVII, Verse 27) as situated in Kapilavatthu which is the birth place of the Buddha. Lumbinī is Rumminideī in the Nepalese Terai, 2 miles to the north of Bhagavanpur and about a mile to the north of Paderia.

Mejjhāraññaṁ and Mātaṅgaraññaṁ. These two forests are mentioned in the Milindapañho (p. 130).

Makkaraṭṭha. It is a forest in Avanti. Mahākaccāna resided there in a leaf-hut (SN., IV, p. 116).

Mahāvana. It is at Kapilavatthu (SN., I, p. 26). According to Buddhaghosa, it is a natural forest outside the town of Vaiśālī lying in one stretch up to the Himalayas. It is so called on account of the large area covered by it (Smv., I, 309; cf. SN., I, pp. 29-30).

Madda-Kucchimigadāya. It is at Rājagaha (SN., I, p. 27).

Mora Nivāpa. The Buddha once went from the Gijjhakūṭa to the Mora Nivāpa which was on the bank of Sumāgadhā (DN., III, p. 39). It is at Rājagaha (AN., I, p. 291).

Nandanavana. In the Visuddhimagga, the Nandanavana, the Missakavana and the Phārusakavana are all referred to (p. 424).

Nāgavana. It is in the Vajji countries and is near Hatthigāma (AN., IV, p. 213).

Pāvārikambavana. Once the Buddha lived in the Pāvārikambana at Nālandā. There he spoke on the subject of miracles to Kevaḍḍha, the son of a householder (DN., I, p. 211).

Bhesakaḷāvana. Once the Buddha stayed at Bhesakaḷāvana Migadāya in the Suṁsumāragiri of the Bhaggas (AN., Vol. II, p. 61; III, p. 295; IV, pp. 85, 228, 232 and 268).

Siṁsapāvana. Once the venerable Kumāra Kassapa with a company of the bhikkhus went to Setavya in the Kosala country. He dwelt in the Siṁsapāvana to the north of Setavya (DN., II, p. 316). There is a Siṁsapāvana in Kosambī (SN., Vol. V, p. 437). There is also another Siṁsapāvana near Āḷavi (AN., Vol. I, p. 136).

Sītavana. It is at Rājagaha (SN., I, pp. 210–212).

Upavattana Sālavana. It is in the Malla territory. It was here that the Buddha attained the Mahāparinibbāṇa (DN., II, p. 169).

Veḷuvana. It is at Rājagaha (SN., I, p. 52).

Veḷukaṇṭaka. It is in Dakkhiṇagiri (AN., IV, p. 64).

Viñjhāṭavi. There is a reference to the Vindhya forest in the Dīpavaṁsa (15, 87). Ariṭṭha, one of the ministers of Devanāmpiyatissa, who had been sent by the Ceylonese King to Asoka, King of Magadha, for a branch of the Bodhi Tree, had to go through the Vindhya forest while going to Pāṭaliputra.

Viñjhāṭavi comprises portions of Khandesh and Aurangabad, which lie on the south of the western extremity of the Vindhya range, including Nasik. The forest, therefore, should, strictly speaking, be located in the Dakkhiṇāpatha.

Cetiyas, Ārāmas, Vihāras, etc.—Aggāḷava. The Aggāḷava temple is referred to in the Tipallattha Miga Jātaka (Jāt., Vol. I, 160).

Asokārāma. The third Buddhist Council was held at Pāṭaliputta in the Asokārāma at the time of King Asoka (Samantapāsādikā, p. 48).

Badarikārāma. It is in Kosambī (Tipallatthamiga Jātaka (Jāt., Vol. I, 160).

Bahuputta. Bahuputta, a Cetiya in Vesālī (DN., II, p. 118).

Cāpāla Cetiya. In the Saṁyutta Nikāya (Vol. V, pp. 259-60) we find the Buddha speaking of three beautiful Cetiyas of Vesālī (AN., IV, p. 309), e.g., the Cāpāla Cetiya (named after a Yakkha of this name), the Sattamba Cetiya (DN., II, 118) and the Sārandada Cetiya (named after a Yakkha of this name).

Gotama and other Cetiyas of Vesālī. The Buddha speaks very highly of the Cetiyas of Vesālī. They are: Udena, Gotamaka, Sattamba, Bahuputta, Sārandada and Cāpāla (DN., II, p. 118; AN., Vol. IV, p. 309). In the Dīgha Nikāya (Vol. III, pp. 9, 10) we are told that to the east of Vesālī was the Udena Cetiya, to the south was the Gotamaka Cetiya, to the west was the Sattamba Cetiya, and to the north was the Bahuputta Cetiya.

It was at Kosambī (DN., I, pp. 157, 159; SN., II, p. 115).

Ghositārāma. A monastery built by a banker named Ghosita is called Ghositārāma (Papañcasūdanī, II, p. 390).

Giñjakāvasatha. It was at Nadikā near Pāṭaliputta (AN., III, pp. 303, 306; IV, p. 316; V, p. 322).

Kassapakārāma. It was at Rājagaha (SN., III, p. 124).

Kukkuṭārāma. It was at Pāṭaliputta (SN., V, pp. 15, 17, 171, and 173).

Kuṭāgārasālā. It was at Vesālī (SN., I, p. 29).

Kālakārāma. The Kālakārāma was in Sāketa. We are told that once when the Buddha was dwelling at the Kālakāvana in Sāketa, he spoke of some qualities that were possessed by him.

Markaṭa-hradatira-cetiya. There is a reference to a Cetiya on the bank of the Markaṭa-hrada where the Buddha once stayed (A Study of the Mahāvastu, p. 44).

Nigrodhārāma. It was at Rājagaha (DN., II, p. 116).

Pubbārāma. Once the Buddha dwelt in the palace of Migāramātā in the Pubbārāma at Sāvatthī. It was here that Aggañña Suttanta was delivered by the Buddha (DN., III, p. 80).

Paribbājakārāma. It was at Rājagaha (SN., II, p. 33).

Salaḷāgāra. It was at Sāvatthī. Anuruddha is said to have resided there (SN., V, p. 300).

Tulādhārapabbata Vihāra. It is referred to in the Visuddhimagga (p. 96); and it was in this Vihāra that the Mahādhammarakkhita thera lived. It was situated in the Rohana Janapada which was on the other side of the Ganges.

Vālukārāma. In the Samantapāsādikā (pp. 33-34) we find that the Vajjiputtaka bhikkhus of Vesālī declared the ten Indulgences. This led to the inauguration of the Second Buddhist Council which was held during the reign of Kālāsoka at Vesālī in the Vālukārāma.

Mahāvana vihāra. It was a monastery in the ancient Vajji country (Mv., p. 24). It is also mentioned by Fahien in his travels.

Dakkhiṇagiri vihāra. It was a vihāra in Ujjenī (Mv., p. 228).

Jetavana vihāra. It was a vihāra near Sāvatthī in the Kosala country where the Buddha lived for some time (Dv., p. 21; Mv., p. 7).

CHAPTER II

THE UTTARĀPATHA OR NORTHERN INDIA

Boundaries.

Nowhere in Brahmanical or Buddhist literature is mentioned the four boundaries of the Uttarāpatha. According to the Brahmanical tradition as recorded in the Kāvyamīmāṁsā (p. 93), the Uttarāpatha or Northern India lay to the other, i.e., the western side of Prithudaka (Prithudakāt parataḥ Uttarāpathaḥ) or Pehoa, about 14 miles west of Thāneswar. Other Brahmanical sources, e.g., the Dharmasūtras of Vaśiṣṭha, Baudhāyana and Manu, purport to furnish practically the same evidence, i.e., the Uttarāpatha lies to the west of the place where the Saraswatī disappears. But our knowledge of the eastern boundary of Uttarāpatha is derived only in connection with the boundaries of the Madhyadeśa as given in the texts referred to above. There is nowhere any independent evidence of the boundaries of Uttarāpatha as such. It is interesting to note that the Brahmanical definition of Āryāvarta excludes the greater portion of the land of the Rigvedic Aryans, which, however, is included in the Uttarāpatha. Thus the entire Indus valley which was the cradle of the Ṛgvedic culture and civilisation is practically outside the pale of Manu's Madhyadeśa or Baudhāyana's Āryāvarta, but is included in Uttarāpatha according to the Kāvyamīmāṁsā.

The Buddhist northern division is also to be located, as in Brahmanical texts, to the west of the Brahman district of Thūna (Sthūna) or Thaneswar as recorded in the Mahāvagga and the Divyāvadāna. There too the boundaries of Uttarāpatha as such are not recorded; its eastern boundary alone can be derived from the western boundary of the Majjhimadesa.

There are numerous references to Uttarāpatha in Pāli literature. In the Hāthigumphā inscription of King Khāravela, we are told that King Khāravela was able to strike terror into the heart of the King of Uttarāpatha. He compelled King Bahasatimita of Magadha to bow down at his feet. Khāravela's Uttarāpatha probably signifies the region including Mathurā in its south-eastern extension up to Magadha. From the prologue of Book V of the Suttanipāta (p. 190), it appears the Dakkhiṇāpatha lent its name to the region through which it passed—the whole tract of land lying to the south of the Ganges and to the north of Godāvarī being known, according to Buddhaghosa, as Dakkhiṇāpatha or the Deccan proper (VT., Mahāvagga, V, 13; Cullavagga, I, 18, p. 362). Uttarāpatha too may be supposed to have been originally a great trade route—the northern high road, so to speak, which extended from Sāvatthī to Takkasīlā in Gāndhāra, and have lent, precisely like the southern high road, its name to the region through which it passed, i.e., the region covering, broadly speaking, the north-western part of the United Provinces, and the whole of the Punjab and the North-Western Frontier Provinces. But this definition of Uttarāpatha is nowhere explicitly stated in Pāli literature. It is, therefore, not at all improbable that Uttarāpatha in Pāli literature might have also signified the same region, i.e., the entire northern India from Aṅga in the east to Gandhāra in the north-west and from the Himalayas in the north to the Vindhyās in the south as understood by its later and wider sense (i.e., the whole of Āryāvarta), e.g., in the Cālukya inscriptions of the 7th and 8th centuries A.D.

Bānabhaṭṭa, the author of Harsha-Carita, however, uses the word Uttarāpatha in its narrower sense and seems to include within the region so named the western part of U.P., the Punjab and the North-Western Frontier Provinces. According to Chinese Buddhist writers, northern India 'comprised the Punjab proper including Kashmir and the adjoining hill states with the whole of eastern Afganisthan beyond the Indus, and the present Cis-satlej States to the west of the Saraswatī river' (CAGI., p. 13).

Two Mahājanapadas
(i) Gandhāra.

In the Aṅguttara Nikāya, Gandhāra is included in the list of the sixteen Mahājanapadas (AN., I., p. 213; IV, pp. 252, 256, 260). The Gandhāras were a very ancient people. Their capital Takshasilā is also mentioned in the Mahābhārata in connection with the story of King Janamejaya who is said to have conquered it.[1] The kingdom of Gandhāra included Kāshmīr and the Takshasilā region (PHAI., p. 93).[2] Gandhāra comprises the districts of Peshawar and Rawalpindi in the northern Punjab as we find in the Mahāvaṁsa (Geiger's tr., p. 82, n. 2) wherein it is stated that after the dissolution of the Third Buddhist Council, Moggaliputtatissa thera sent Majjhantika thera to Kāsmīra-Gandhāra for propagation of the Buddhist faith.[3] Gandhāra thus comprised the whole of the districts of Peshawar and Rawalpindi in the northern Punjab. Takkasīlā or Taxila was the capital city of the Gandhāra kingdom, and according to the Jātakas (Telapatta Jātaka, 96, Susīma Jātaka, 163) it lay 2,000 leagues from Benares. In the time of Nimi, King of Videha, Durmukha, King of Pañchāla and Bhīma, King of Vidarbha, the throne of Gandhāra was occupied by Naggaji or Nagnajit (Kumbhakāra Jātaka; Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VII, 34; Sat. Brāhmaṇa, VIII, 1.4.10).[1] In the Kumbhakāra Jātaka we are told that Naggaji's capital was Takkasīlā.

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[1] 'The Purāṇas represent the Gandhāra kings as the descendants of Druhyu (Matsya, 48. 6; Vāyu, 99. 9). This king and his people are mentioned several times in the Ṛgveda. In the Vedic Index (I, 385) it is stated that from the tribal grouping it is probable that the Druhyus were a north-western people. Thus the Puranic tradition about the connection of the Gandhāras with Druhyu accords with Vedic evidence.' (PHAI., p. 93.)

[2] We find it otherwise in Jāt., III, 365.

[3] Dr. Raichaudhuri points out (PHAI., p. 93) that the inclusion of Kāshmīr in the Gandhāra kingdom is confirmed by the evidence of Hekataios of Miletos (B.C. 549-486) who refers to Kaspapyros=Kaśyapapura, i.e., Kashmīr (cf. Rājataraṅginī, I, 27) as a Gandaric city.

The Jātakas testify to the evidence of trade relations between the Kashmīr-Gandhāra kingdom and Videha (Jāt., III, pp. 363–369). In the Niddesa we are told (P.T.S., Vol. I, p. 154) that in Taxila people used to flock in the wake of trade and commerce to earn money. The king ruling in Gandhāra contemporaneously with King Bimbisāra of Magadha was Pukkusāti who is said to have sent an embassy and a letter to his Magadhan contemporay as a mark of friendship. He is also said to have waged a war on King Pradyota of Avanti who was defeated.

The Behistun inscription of Darius (C. 516 B.C.) purports to record that Gadara or Gandhāra was one of the kingdoms subject to the Persian Empire; it, therefore, appears that some time in the latter half of the 6th century B.C., the Gandhāra kingdom was conquered by the Achæmenid kings. In the time of Asoka, however, Gandhāra formed a part of the empire of the great Buddhist Emperor; the Gandhāras whose capital was Takkasīlā are mentioned in his Rock Edict V.

(ii) Kamboja.

Kamboja is mentioned along with Gandhāra in the Aṅguttara Nikāya (I, p. 213; Ibid., IV, pp. 252, 256, 261) as one of the sixteen great countries of India. In the Paramatthadīpanī on the Petavatthu (P.T.S., p. 113) Dvārakā occurs along with Kamboja. But it is not expressly stated if Dvārakā was the capital of the Kamboja country. Dvārakā, in fact, was not really a city of Kamboja; nowhere in early or later Pāli literature there is any mention of the capital city of the Kamboja people,[2] nor of the location of their country, though it is certain that Kamboja must be located in some part of north-west India not far from Gandhāra.

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[1] PHAI., p. 93.

[2] 'We learn from a passage of the Mahābhārata that a place called Rājapura was the home of the Kambojas (Mahābhārata, VII, 4, 5; "Karṇa Rājapuraṁ gatvā Kāmbojā nirjitā stvayā"). The association of the Kambojas with the Gandhāras enables us to identify this Rājapura with the Rājapura of Yuan Chwang which lay to the south or south-east of Punch (Watters, Yuan Chwang, Vol. I, p. 284). The western boundaries of Kamboja must have reached Kafiristan, and there are still in that district tribes like "Caumojee", "Camoze" and "Camoje" whose names remind us of the Kambojas.' (PHAI., p. 95.)

Nandipura seems to be the only city of the Kambojas that is known from Luder's Inscriptions, Nos. 176 and 472.

In the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī (I, p. 124), we are told that Kamboja was the home of horses. The commentary on the Kunāla Jātaka (Jāt., V, p. 446) gives us to know how the Kamboja people caught horses in the forest. In one of the Jātakas (Jāt., Cowell, VI, 110 note) we are informed that the Kambojas were a north-western tribe who were supposed to have lost their original Aryan customs and to have become barbarous. In the Bhūridatta Jātaka (Jāt., VI, p. 208) we are told that many Kambojas who were not Aryans told that people were purified by killing insects, flies, snakes, frogs, bees, etc. The Jātaka tradition is corroborated by that contained in Yāṣka's Nirukta as well as in Yuan Chwang's account of Rājapura and the adjoining countries of the north-west. The Nirukta would have us believe that in Yāṣka's time the Kambojas had come to be regarded as a people distinct from the Aryans of India proper, speaking a different dialect. Speaking of Rājapura, Yuan Chwang says, 'From Lampa to Rājapura the inhabitants are coarse and plain in personal appearance, of rude violent disposition.... they do not belong to India proper but are inferior peoples of frontier (i.e., barbarians) stocks' (Watters—Yuan Chwang, I, pp. 284 ff.).

It is stated in the Sāsanavaṁsa (P.T.S. 49) that in the 235th year of the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha, Mahārakkhita thera went to the Yonaka Province and established the Buddha's sāsana in Kamboja and other places. The Kambojas are mentioned in the Rock Edicts V and XIII of Asoka. They occupied roughly the province round about Rajaori, or ancient Rājapura, including the Hazārā district of the North-Western Frontier Province.

Janapadas, Nigamas, Puras, Gāmas, etc.— Alasanda.

The Mahāvaṁsa (Geiger's tr., p. 194) refers to the town of Alasanda which was the chief city of the Yona territory. Geiger identifies Alasanda with the town of Alexandria founded by Alexander near Kabul in the Paropanisaḍae country. In the Milindapañho, however, Alasanda has been described as an island where in the village of Kalasigāma King Milinda was born (Trenckner, Milindapañho, pp. 82 and 83; CHI., p. 550).

Ariṭṭhapura.

From the Sivi Jātaka (Jāt., IV, p. 401) we know that Ariṭṭhapura was the capital of the Sivi kingdom. Several Jātakas mention (e.g., Nimi Jātaka, No. 541) a king named Usīnara and his son Sibi; but whether this prince Sibi had anything to do with the Sibi people or their country, it is difficult to ascertain.

In a passage of the Ṛgveda (VII, 18. 7) there is a mention of the Śiva people along with the Alinas, Pakthas, Bhalānasas and Viśānins. Early Greek writers also refer to a country in the Punjab as the territory of the Siboi. It is highly probable that the Śiva country of the Ṛgveda, the Sibi country of the Jātakas (Ummadanti Jātaka, No. 527; Vessantara Jātaka, No. 547) and the Siboi country of the Greek geographers are one and the same. Patañjali mentions a country in the north called Śiva-pura (IV, 2, 2) which is certainly identical with Sibipura mentioned in a Shorkot inscription. (Ep. Ind., 1921, p. 6.) The Śiva, Sibi or Siboi territory is, therefore, identical with the Shorkot region of the Punjab—the ancient Sīvapura or Sibipur.[1]

Besides Ariṭṭhapura there was another city of the Sibi kingdom called Jetuttara near Chitor (Vessantara Jātaka, No. 547).

Asitañjana Nagara.

In the Ghata Jātaka (Jāt., Vol. IV, p. 79) we are told that a king named Mahākaṁsa reigned in Uttarāpatha, in the Kaṁsa district, in the city of Asitañjana which, however, is difficult to be identified.

Uttarakuru.

Uttarakuru is often mentioned in Pāli literature as a mythical region. It has also been mentioned in Vedic and later Brahmanical literature as a country situated somewhere north of Kāshmīr.

Kalasigāma.

Kalasigāma was the birth place of King Milinda (Milindapañho, p. 83); it was situated in the Island of Alasanda or Alexandria.

Kāsmīra.

According to a Jātaka story (No. 406) the kingdom of Kāsmīr was included in the Gandhāra Kingdom. It is stated in the Mahāvaṁsa that after the dissolution of the Third Buddhist Council, Moggaliputta Tissa thera sent Majjhantika thera to Kasmīra-Gandhāra for propagation of the Buddhist faith. (See ante: Gandhāra). During the reign of Asoka, Kāsmīra was included in the Maurya dominion. This is proved by the testimony of Yuan Chwang (Watters, I, pp. 267–71).

Kurudīpa.

The Dīpavaṁsa (p. 16) refers to the Kurudīpa which, however, may be taken to be identical with Uttarakuru.

Takkasīlā.

Takkasīlā (Sans. Takshasīlā) was the capital city of the Gandhāra kingdom, and according to the Jātakas (Telapatta Jātaka, No. 96; Susīma Jātaka, No. 163) it lay 2,000 leagues from Benares as already pointed out. In Pāli literature Takkasīlā has been frequently mentioned as a great seat of learning in Ancient

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[1] 'The Mahābhārata (III, 130-131) refers to a rāshṭra of the Śivis ruled by King Usīnara, which lay not far from the Yamunā. It is not altogether improbable that the Usīnara country was at one time the home of the Śivis. We find them also in Sind, in Madhyamikā in Rājputānā (Vaidya—Med. Hindu India, I, p. 162; Carmichael Lectures, 1918, p. 173) and in the Dasakumāra-Carita, on the banks of the Kāverī.' (PHAI., pp. 155-56, also f.n., No. 2.)

India. In the Vinaya Piṭaka (Mahāvagga, pp. 269-270) it is stated that Jīvaka, the royal physician received his education in medicine and surgery there. In the Jātakas (I, p. 259; V, pp. 161, 210, 457) we are told that princes from various kingdoms went to Taxila for education. In one of the Jātakas (Jāt., I, p. 447) it is stated that a young man of the Lāḷa country went to Taxila for education. In another Jātaka (Jāt., II, p. 277) a very beautiful picture of the student life of those days has been drawn. From the Cittasambhūta Jātaka (Jāt., IV, p. 391) we learn that education was eligible for upper classes alone, the brāhmaṇas and khattiyas. Of the subjects taught, the first three Vedas and eighteen Vijjās are mentioned. Some of the Vijjās taught at Taxila are also mentioned in the Jātakas, e.g., the art of archery (Jāt., I, p. 356), the art of swordsmanship and the various arts (Jāt., V, p. 128.) The Susīma Jātaka (Jāt., II, p. 47) tells us that Bodhisatta, the son of a priest who was a Hatthimaṅgalakāraka to the King of Benares, travelled a distance of 20,000 yojanas and went to Takkasīlā to learn Hatthisuttaṁ. References to Ālambanamantaṁ (mantaṁ for charming snakes) and Nidhiuddharaṇamantaṁ as taught in Taxila are made in the Campeyya Jātaka (Jāt., IV, p. 457) and the Vrahāchatta Jātaka (Jāt., III, p. 116) respectively.

From the Divyāvadāna (p. 371) it appears that Takkasīlā was included in the empire of Bindusāra of Magadha, father of Asoka. Once when during his reign there was a rebellion in Takkasīlā, he sent his son Asoka to put down the rising. From the minor Rock Edict II of Asoka it seems that Takkasīlā was the headquarter of the Provincial Government at Gandhāra and was placed under a kumāra or viceroy. According to the Divyāvadāna, a rebellion again broke out in Takkasīlā during the reign of Asoka, and the latter sent his son Kunāla to put down the disturbances.

Takkasīlā is identified with Taxila in the district of Rawalpindi in the Punjab.

Tidasapura.

In the Samantapāsādikā (p. 179) there is a reference to Uttarakuru and its city Tidasapura.

Maddaraṭṭha.

Maddaraṭṭha is not mentioned in the list of the sixteen Mahājanapadas.

Sāgala.

In the Milindapañho we are told that King Milinda (Menander), a powerful Græco-Bactrian King, ruling over the Madda country with Sāgala as his capital became a convert to Buddhism (S.B.E., Vol. XXXV, p. 6). That Sāgala or Sākala (modern Sialkot in the Punjab) was the capital of the Madra country is also attested to by the Mahābhārata (II, 32, 14)—'Tataḥ Sākalamabhyetva Madrānāṁ putabhedanam', as also by several Jātakas (e.g., the Kāliṅgabodhi Jātaka, No. 479; the Kusa Jātaka, No. 531). The Madras had a monarchical constitution and their territory may be said to correspond roughly to Sialkot and its adjacent districts which were known as late as the 18th century as the Madradeśa.

In one of the Jātakas (Cowell's Jātaka, V, pp. 146-147) we are told that King Okkāka had a son named Kusa who married a daughter of the King of Madda. It is further stated that King Okkāka went with a great retinue from Kusāvatī, his capital, to the city of Sāgala, capital of the Madda King. From the Kāliṅgabodhi Jātaka (Cowell's Jātaka, IV, pp. 144-145) we know that a matrimonial alliance was established between the King of Madda and the King of Kaliṅga. Another matrimonial alliance of the Madda King was made with the royal house of Benares (Chaddanta Jātaka—Cowell's Jātaka, V, p. 22). The Mahāvaṁsa (p. 70) tells us that in Sīhapura, on the death of King Sīhavāhu, his son Sumitta became king, and married the daughter of the Madda King and had three sons by her.

It is referred to in the Rock Edicts V and XIII of Asoka.

Nābhaka.

The Nabhapantis of Nābhaka[1] must be looked for somewhere between the North-West Frontier and the western coast of India.

Yona or Yonaka.

The Yonaka or Yona country was visited, according to the Dīpavaṁsa and Mahāvaṁsa (Chap. XII) by the Thera Mahārakkhita. According to the Sāsanavaṁsa (p. 12) the Yonakaraṭṭha is the country of the Yavana or Yona people. The Rock Edicts V and XIII of Asoka mention the Yonas as a subject people, forming a frontier district of Asoka's Empire. The exact situation of the Yonaka country is difficult to be determined. According to the Mahāvaṁsa, its chief city was Alasanda identified with Alexandria near Kabul in the Paropanisadae country (Mahāvaṁsa, tr., p. 194; Trenckner, Milindapañho, p. 82).

Rivers, Lakes, Tanks, etc.—Anotatta.

Anotatta has been mentioned as a lake in the Aṅguttara Nikāya (IV, p. 101) and is included in the list of the seven great lakes in the Himalayas (Dv. and Mv.). Buddha is said to have visited the lake many a time. It is generally supposed that the Anotatta or Anavatapta lake is the same as Rawanhrad or Langa. But Spence Hardy considers it to be an imaginary lake (Legends and Theories of the Buddhists, p. 129).

Ūhā.

The river Ūhā is stated in the Milindapañho (p. 70) to have been located in the Himavanta.

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[1] In the Rock Edicts V and XIII of Asoka, the Yonas, Kambojas, Gāndhāras, Rāshṭrikas-Pitinikas, Bhojas Nābhapantis, Andhras and Pulindas are mentioned. We have to take these names as those of subject people, forming some of the frontier districts of Asoka's Empire.

Candabhāgā.

In the Milindapañho (p. 114) we are told of the five hundred rivers that issued forth from the Himavanta mountain. Of these rivers ten are said to be important: Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Aciravatī, Sarabhū, Mahī, Sindhu, Sarassatī, Vetravatī, Vitaṁsā and Candabhāgā.

The Candabhāgā (Sans. Candrabhāgā) is the Chināb, the Acesines of the Greeks or the Asiknī of the Ṛgveda, a tributary of the Indus or the Sindhu.

Vītaṁsā.

Vītaṁsā (Milindapañho, p. 114) represented by the Sanskrit Vitastā is the river Jhelum, the Hydaspes of the Greeks.

Sīhappapāta.

It has been described in the Kunāla Jātaka (Jāt., Vol. V, p. 415) as a lake in the Himavanta. Tiyaggala has been described in the same Jātaka to be another lake in the Himavanta.

Sindhu.

Of the five hundred rivers referred to in the Milindapañho as issuing from the Himavanta (p. 114), Sindhu is one of the most important. It is the river Indus, the Sintu of the Chinese travellers.

Mountains, Hills, Precipices, etc.—Añjana.

Añjana has been described in the Sarabhaṅga Jātaka (Jāt., Vol. V, p. 133) as a mountain situated in the Mahāvana or Great Forest. It is the Sulliman range in the Punjab.

Anoma, Asoka, and Cāvala.

These are mountains not far from the Himavanta (Apadāna, pp. 342, 345 and 451 respectively).

Kañcana.

In the Abbhantara Jātaka (Jāt., II, p. 396) we are told that the Kañcana pabbata is in the Himavanta. From the Nimi Jātaka (Jāt., VI, p. 101) we know that it is in the Uttara Himavanta.

Nisabha.

The Nisabha pabbata is not far off from the Himavanta (Apadāna, p. 67). It is the mountain which lies to the west of the Gandhamādana and north of the Kabul river called by the Greeks Paropanisos, now called the Hindukush.

Nandamūlappabhāra.

The Nandamūlappabhāra is in the Uttara Himavanta (Jāt., II, p. 195).

CHAPTER III

APARĀNTAKA OR WESTERN INDIA

Boundaries.

According to the Brahmanical tradition recorded in the Kāvyamīmāṁsā (p. 93), the country lying to the west of Devasabhā (a city on a mountain not yet identified) was called the Paścātdeśa or the Western Country (Devasabhāyāḥ parataḥ paścātdeśaḥ, tatra Devasabha-Surāshṭra-Daseraka-Travaṇa-Bhrigukaccha-Kacchīya-Ānarta-Arvuda-brāhmaṇavāha-Yavana-prabhritayo janapadāḥ). Devasabhā is also referred to in the Arthaśāstra (Sanskrit text, p. 78) as producing red sandal. According to the Buddhist tradition recorded in the Sāsanavaṁsa (p. 11), Aparāntaka is, however, the region lying to the west of the Upper Irawady. According to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Aparānta was the Northern Konkan, whose capital was Surpāraka (mod. Sopārā); while according to Bhagavānlal Indraji the western sea-board of India was called Aparāntaka or Aparāntika. Yuan Chwang, the celebrated Chinese Buddhist traveller, seems, on the whole, to be more definite on this point. According to his account, the Western Country seems to comprise 'Sindh, Western Rajputana, Cutch, Gujarat and a portion of the adjoining coast on the lower course of the Narmadā, three states—Sindh, Gurjara and Valabhi' (CAGI., Notes, p. 690).

The Dīpavaṁsa (p. 54) and the Mahāvaṁsa (Ch. XII) state that Yona Dhammarakkhita, a Buddhist missionary, was sent to Aparāntaka for the spread of Buddhism there.

Janapadas. Nigamas, Puras, Gāmas, etc.—Asitamasā.

Asitamasā is referred to in the Barhut inscriptions (Barua and Sinha, p. 32). Cunningham locates it somewhere on the bank of the Tamasā or Ton river. The Vāmana Purāṇa mentions Asinīla and Tāmasa among the countries of Western India.

Bharukaccha.

In the Sussondi Jātaka (Jāt., III, pp. 187 ff.) we read of the minstrel Sagga's journey from Benares to Bharukaccha. It was a seaport town from which ships used to sail for different countries. In one of the Jātakas it is stated that some merchants once sailed from Bharukaccha to Suvaṇṇabhūmi (identified with Lower Burma). In the Divyāvadāna (pp. 544–586) there is a very interesting story accounting for the name of the city. It is said that Rudrāyaṇa, King of Roruka (may be identical with Alor, an old city of Sindh), in Sauvīra was killed by his son Sikhaṇḍī. As a punishment of this crime, the realm of Sikhaṇḍī, the parricide king, was destroyed by a heavy shower of sands.

Three pious men only survived—two ministers and a Buddhist monk—who went out in search of a new land. Bhiru, one of the two ministers at least found one and established a new city there which came to be named after him—Bhiruka or Bhirukaccha whence came the name Bharukaccha.

Bhrigukaccha is, however, the Sanskrit rendering which means 'high coast land' and the city is exactly situated on a high coast land. According to Brahmanical tradition, the city was so called because it was founded by the sage Bhrigu (Imp. Gaz. of India, IX, p. 30). Bhrigukaccha is mentioned in the Kūrmavibhāga and Bhuvanakoṣa; and it is identical with Barygaza of Ptolemy (pp. 38 and 152) and the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea (pp. 40 and 287). It is modern Broach in Kathiawar.

Cikula.

Cikula is mentioned in the Barhut inscriptions (Barua and Sinha, p. 14). The location of the place is unknown. One of the Nasik Cave inscriptions (Lüder's list, No. 1133) mentions Cikhala Padra as a village. Cikula, Cekula=Ceula, probably Caul near Bombay (Ep. Ind., II, p. 42).

Mahāraṭṭha.

We are told in the Mahāvaṁsa (Ch. XII) that Mahādhammarakkhita was sent to spread the gospel of the Buddha in the Mahāraṭṭha. According to the Sāsanavaṁsa (pp. 12, 13), it is, however, Mahānagararaṭṭha or Siam. Mahāraṭṭha is the present Maraṭha country, the country watered by the Upper Godāvarī and that lying between that river and the Krishnā.

Nāsika.

Nāsika is mentioned in the Barhut inscriptions (p. 16). It is Nasika or Naisika of the Purāṇas and Janasthāna of the Rāmāyaṇa. According to the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, it was situated on the Narmada. Janasthāna, as it appears from the Ramayanic description, was within the reach of Panchavaṭī on the Godāvarī. Janasthāna came to be known as Nāsika from the circumstance that here Surpanakhā's nose was cut off by Lakshmaṇa. Nāsika is modern Nasik which is about 75 miles to the north-west of Bombay. During the reign of the Sātavāhana kings of Andhra, Nāsika was a stronghold of the Bhadrayaniya School of Buddhists (Lüder's list, Nos. 1122–1149).

Naggadīpa.

Vijaya, son of King Sīhavāhu of Lāḷaraṭṭha in Western India, was driven out of the kingdom of his father. He with his 700 men was thrown into the sea in boats. Their wives also shared the same fate. Vijaya with his followers landed in the Naggadīpa and the women in the Mahilādīpa. Vijaya with his men again sailed from Naggadīpa and reached Suppāraka and thence went to Sīhaladīpa (Mv., p. 60). It is interesting to note that Yuan Chwang speaks of a kingdom in the north-west India ruled over by women. Is it possible to identify the Strīrājya of Yuan Chwang with the Mahilādipaka of the Mahāvaṁsa?

Roruka.

In the Divyāvadāna (pp. 544 foll.) we read that Pāṭaliputta and Roruka were two important cities. It is said that King Rudrāyana of Roruka was a contemporary of King Bimbisāra of Magadha and they became intimate friends. There was then a brisk trade between Rājagaha and Roruka. It is said merchants from Rājagaha went to Roruka for trade.

Seriyāputa.

It is mentioned in the Barhut inscriptions (p. 32). The location of the place is unknown. The Serivānija Jātaka (Fausboll, Jātaka, No. 3) mentions a kingdom by the name of Seriva. The city of Andhapura could be reached by the merchants from Seriva by crossing the river Telavāha. It seems that Seriyāputa was, like Suppāraka and Bharukaccha, an important port on the western coast of India.

Sovīra.

In the Āditta Jātaka (Jāt., Vol. III, p. 470) mention is made of the kingdom of Sovīra of which the capital was Roruka. Sovīra has been identified by Cunningham with Eder, a district in the provinces of Gujerat at the head of the Gulf of Cambay. The name Sindhu-Sauvīra suggests that Sovīra was situated between the Indus and the Jhelum.

Suppāraka.

Suppāraka was a seaport town (Dh.C., II, p. 210). Suppāraka is Sanskrit Surpāraka, and is mentioned in the Dīpavaṁsa (p. 55) and Mahāvaṁsa (p. 60) as well. It is identical with Supārā or Sopāra in the district of Thānā, 37 miles north of Bombay and about 4 miles north-west of Bassein.

Suraṭṭha.

According to the Sarabhaṅga Jātaka (Jāt., V, p. 133) a stream called Sātodikā flowed along the borders of the Suraṭṭha country which is represented by Sanskrit Surāshtra, the Su-la-cha of Yuan Chwang. According to the Chinese pilgrim, its capital lay at the foot of Mt. Yuh-shan-ta (Pkr. Ujjanta, Skr. Urjayat of Rudradāman's and Skandagupta's inscriptions, and is identical with modern Junāgad, the ancient Girinagara, i.e., Girnār). Suraṭṭha comprises modern Kathiawad and other portions of Gujerat.

Sīhapura and Lāḷaraṭṭha.

Lāḷaraṭṭha is mentioned in the Dīpavaṁsa (p. 54) and Mahāvaṁsa (p. 60) as a kingdom ruled over by a King named Sīhavāhu. Lāḷaraṭṭha is Sanskrit Lātarāshṭra and is evidently identical with the old Lāta kingdom of Gujerat, the Larike of Ptolemy (p. 38), the capital city of which is stated in the Dīpavaṁsa (p. 54) to have been Sīhapura.

Seas, Rivers, Waterfalls, etc.—Khuramāla.

Khuramāla, a sea. Merchants who set sail from Bharukaccha had to go through the Khuramāla sea. Here, it is stated, fishes with bodies like men, and sharp razor-like spouts, dive in and out of the water (Suppāraka Jātaka, Jāt., Vol. IV).

Sātodika.

A river in the Suraṭṭha country (Jāt., Vol. III, p. 463).

Vaḷabhā-mukha Sea.

Here the water is sucked away and rises on every side, and the water thus sucked away on all sides rises in sheer precipices leaving what looks like a great pit (Jāt., IV, p. 141).

Nalamāla Sea.

It had the aspect of an expanse of reeds or a grove of bamboos (Jāt., IV, p. 140).

Nīlavaṇṇa-Kusamala Sea.

It had the appearance of a field of corn (Jāt., IV, p. 140).

Mountain—Hiṅgula.

The Hiṅgula pabbata is in the Himavantapadesa (Jāt., V, p. 415). Hinglāj is situated at the extremity of the range of mountains in Beluchisthan called by the name of Hiṅgulā, about 20 miles or a day's journey from the sea-coast, on the bank of the Aghor or Hiṅgulā or Hingol river near its mouth (GD., p. 75).

CHAPTER IV

DAKKHIṆĀPATHA OR THE DECCAN AND THE FAR SOUTH

Boundaries.

According to the Brahmanical tradition as contained in the Kāvyamīmāṁsā, Dakshiṇāpatha is the region lying to the south of Māhiṣmatī ('Māhiṣmatyaḥ parataḥ Dakshiṇāpathaḥ') which has been identified with Māndhātā on the Narmadā. From the definitions of Madhyadeśa as given by Vaśiṣṭha and Baudhāyana (I, 8; I, 1, 2, 9, etc., respectively) it seems that the Dakshiṇāpatha region lay to the south of Pāripātra which is generally identified with a portion of the Vindhyas. The Dharmaśāstra of Manu seems, however, to corroborate the boundary as given by the Sūtra writers, for, from Manu's boundary of the Madhyadeśa, it is evident that the Southern Country or the Dakshiṇa janapada lay to the south of the Vindhyas (see ante: Boundaries of the Madhyadeśa).

The Buddhist tradition as to the northern boundary of the Dakkhiṇāpatha is, however, a bit different. The Mahāvagga and the Divyāvadāna seem to record that the Dakkhiṇa janapada lay to the south of the town of Satakannika, a locality which has not yet definitely been identified (see ante: Boundaries of Majjhimadesa). The Vinaya Piṭaka, however, uses the term Dakkhiṇāpatha in a much narrower sense (Vol. I, pp. 195, 196; Vol. II, p. 298) and refers to it as a region confined to a remote settlement of the Aryans on the Upper Godāvarī. Buddhaghosa, the celebrated Buddhist commentator, defines Dakkhiṇāpatha or the Deccan as the tract of land lying to the south of the Ganges (SMV., I, p. 265) and was the same as Dakkhiṇa Janapada. As we have already pointed out that from the prologue of Book V of the Sutta Nipāta, it appears that the Dakkhināpatha lent its name to the region through which it passed—i.e., the whole tract of land lying to the south of the Ganges and to the north of the river Godāvarī being known (according to Buddhaghosa) as Dakkhiṇāpatha or the Deccan proper (cf. Vinaya-Mahāvagga, V, 13; Vinaya-Cullavagga, XII, I).

The region lying south of the river Godāvarī seems to have been little known to the early Buddhists; and it seems that the earliest intimate knowledge of the geography of the country, now known as the Far South, was acquired not earlier than the suzerainty of Asoka. Ceylon, to the early Buddhists, was undoubtedly known, but the island was reached more often by sea than by land.

The word 'Dākshiṇātya' is mentioned by Pāṇini (IV, 2, 98); whereas Dakshiṇāpatha is referred to by Baudhāyana who couples it with Saurāshṭra (Bau. Sūtra, I, 1, 29). But, it is difficult to say what Pāṇini and Baudhāyana mean exactly by Dākshiṇātya or Dakshiṇāpatha.

Janapadas, Nigamas, Puras, Gāmas, etc.

Strictly speaking, portions of the two Mahājanapadas namely, the Assaka and the Avanti mahājanapadas were included in the Dakkhiṇāpatha or the Deccan. According to the Mahāgovinda Suttanta (DN., II, p. 235), the capital of the kingdom of Avanti was Māhissati or Māhiṣmatī (sans) identical with Māndhātā on the Narmadā.[1] The Avanti kingdom of the Mahāgovinda Suttanta was evidently the Avanti-Dakshiṇāpatha (CL., p. 45) as distinguished from the Avanti kingdom of the Madhyadeśa whose capital was Ujjain.

The Assaka country was situated on the banks of the Godāvarī (S. Nip., 977); strictly speaking, therefore, the Assaka Mahājanapadas should also be included in the Dakkhiṇāpatha. This is corroborated by the fact that the grammarian Pāṇini mentions Aṣmaka (sanskrit form of Assaka) with reference to Dākshiṇātya (IV, 2, 98) and Kaliṅga (IV, 1, 178), and that Assaka is invariably mentioned in early Pali literature along with Avanti.

A colonial projection of the Kosala Mahājanapada of the Madhyadeśa was also situated in the Dakkhiṇa janapada. Dakshiṇa Kosala is referred to in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta during whose reign it was ruled over by King Mahendra who was defeated by the Gupta monarch. The country is also mentioned in the itinerary of Yuan Chwang who locates Kosala in the southern division. South Kosala comprised the whole of the upper valley of the Mahānadī and its tributaries, from the source of the Narmadā on the north to the source of the Mahanadī itself on the south and from the valley of the Wengaṅgā in the west to the Hasda and Jonk rivers in the east (CAGI., p. 735). According to Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri it 'comprised the modern Bilaspur, Raipur and Sambalpur districts, and occasionally even a part of Ganjam. Its capital was Śrīpura, the modern Sirpur, about 40 miles east by north from Raipur' (PHAI., pp. 337-338). Dakkhiṇakosala was also known as Mahākosala.

Arakatapura.

From the Hāthigumpha inscription it is clear that King Khāravela conquered Arakatapura inhabited by a race of magicians called

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[1] Dr. Ray Chaudhuri (PHAI., p. 92 n.) points out that there is one difficulty in the way of accepting this identification. Māndhātā lay to the south of the Pāriyātra Mts. (western Vindhyas), whereas Māhiśmatī lay between the Vindhya and the Riksha (to the north of the Vindhya and to the south of the Riksha) according to the commentator Nīlakaṇṭha) Hv., II, 38. 7–19.

Vidyādharas. Arakata or Arakaḷā is the same kind of geographical name as Parakaṭa, Bhojakaṭa, etc. Phonetically it is the same name as modern Arcot. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar is of opinion that the Sora of Ptolemy (cf. Arcati regia Sora) 'can easily be recognised to be the Tamil Sora or Choda'.

Amarāvatī.

In the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā (Vol. I, p. 83), there is a reference to the city of Amarāvatī. It is stated that the Buddha in one of his previous births as a brahmin youth named Sumedha was born in that city. It is identical with modern city of Amaraoti close to the rivers of Dharanikotta (a mile west of ancient Amarāvatī on the Krishṇā famous for its ruined stūpa).

Andhradeśa.

A brahmin youth after completing his education at Takkasīlā (Taxila), then a great seat of learning, came to the Andhra country to profit by practical experience (Jāt. I, pp. 356 ff.). The people of Andhradeśa, i.e., the Andhras, are also referred to in the Rock Edicts V and XIII of Asoka as a vassal tribe. Andhradeśa is the country between the Godāvarī and the Krishṇā including the district of Krishṇā. The capital of the Andhradeśa seems to have been Dhanakataka which was visited by Yuan Chwang. But the earliest Andhra capital (Andhapura) was situated on the Telavāha river, identical probably with modern Tel or Telingiri both flowing near the confines of the Madras Presidency and the Central Provinces. (PHAI., p. 196 and f.n. 4).

Bhoja Country.

References to the Bhoja country in Pali Buddhist literature are not uncommon. In the Saṁyutta Nikāya (Vol. I, pp. 61-62) we find mention of a Ṛṣi named Rohitassa Bhojaputta, as also of sixteen Bhojaputtas in a Jātaka story (Jāt., I, p. 45). Bhoja coincides with Berar or ancient Vidarbha, and Chammaka, four miles south-east of Elichpur in the Amaraoti District.

In the Barhut inscriptions (Barua and Sinha, pp. 7 and 27) there is a reference to Bhojakaṭa. The Sabhāparva of the Great Epic (Chap. 30) mentions Bhojakaṭa and Bhojakaṭapura as two places in the south conquered by Sahadeva. If Bhojakaṭa be the same as Bhoja or Bhojya of the Purāṇas, then it must be a country of the Vindhya region. The expression Daṇḍakyabhoja in the Brāhmaṇas may indicate that the Bhojakaṭa was either included within or within the reach of Daṇḍaka. It is clear from the Mahābhārata list that Bhojakaṭa (identical with Elichpur) was distinct from Bhojakaṭapura or Bhojapura, the second capital of Vidarbha (modern Berar). In the Khila Harivaṁśa (Viṣṇu Purāṇa, LX, 32) Bhojakaṭa is expressly identified with Vidarbha.

In the inscriptions of Asoka (R.E. XIII) the Bhoja-Pitinikas are referred to. They undoubtedly held the present Thānā and Kolābā districts of the Bombay Presidency.

Colaraṭṭha.

The Coḷaraṭṭha is in Southern India. We are told in the Mahāvaṁsa (pp. 166, 197 foll.) that the Damiḷas who once invaded Laṅkā came from the Coḷa country in Southern India. In the same chronicle we read of Damiḷa named Elara who ruled over Ceylon and was noted for his piety and justice. The Damiḷas were, however, driven out of Laṅkā by Duṭṭhagāminī, the greatest king that ever ruled over the island.

In the Rock Edicts II and XIII of Asoka, Coḍa is mentioned as an unconquered frontier kingdom (aṁtā avijitā) along with Pāṇḍya, Satiyaputra, Keralaputra, Tambapaṇṇi and the realm of Amtiyako Yonarājā.

The Coḷas are mentioned in the Vārtikas of Kātyāyana as well as in the Epics. Coḷa or Coḍa is Tamil Sora and is probably identical with Sora (cf. Sora Regia Arcati) of Ptolemy. Yuan Chwang's record of the Chu-li-ye or Jho-li-ye country is most probably with reference to the Coḷa country, but he describes Chu-li-ye as a wild jungle region. The Coḷa capital was Uraiyur (Sanskrit Uragapura); and their principal port was at Kāviripaṭṭanaṁ or Pugār on the northern bank of the Kāverī.

Damiḷaraṭṭha.

In the Akitti Jātaka (Jāt., IV, 238) as well as in the Ceylonese chronicles, Dīpavaṁsa and the Mahāvaṁsa, mention is made of the Damiḷaraṭṭha or the kingdom of the Damiḷas. The Damiḷas are, however, identified with the Tamils. Kāviripaṭṭana was a sea-port town in the Damiḷa kingdom which is generally identified either with the Malabar coast or Northern Ceylon.

Gola or Gula.

The place is mentioned in the Barhut inscriptions. The location of the place is, however, unknown. The Purāṇas mention Gulangula as a country in the Deccan.

Keralaputta.

Keralaputta is referred to in Rock Edicts II and XIII of Asoka along with the Coḍa, Pāṇḍya, Satiyaputra, Tambapaṇṇi kingdoms of the Far South. Asoka was in terms of friendly relations with these kingdoms. Later on the country came to be popularly known as the Cera kingdom which lay to the south of Kupāka (or Satya), extending down to Kannati in Central Travancore (Karunagapalli Taluk). South of it lay the political division of Mūshika (J.R.A.S., 1923, p. 413). It, therefore, roughly comprised South Canara, Coorg, Malabar and north-west parts of Mysore with perhaps the northernmost portion of Travancore.

Kaliṅga.

Early Pali literature throws little light on the history or geography of the Kaliṅgaraṭṭha. The inscriptions of Asoka tell us that Asoka in the 13th year of his reign conquered the kingdom of Kaliṅga and incorporated it into his own empire. From the Kaliṅga

Edict I, it appears that a Kumāra was in charge of Kaliṅga with his headquarters at Tosali (Tosala)[1] or Samāpa.[2]

In the Hāthigumphā inscription we are told that King Khāravela brought back to his realm, from Aṅga-Magadha, the throne of Jina which had been carried from Kaliṅga by King Nanda. It appears from the record of Khāravela's 8th regnal year that Khāravela stormed Goraṭṭhagiri, a stronghold of the Magadhan army in the Barabar hills, and caused a heavy pressure to be brought to bear upon the citizens of Rājagaha, the earlier capital of Magadha. From the record of the 12th regnal year, it appears that King Khāravela also compelled King Bahasatimita of Magadha to bow down at his feet.

Khāravela has been described in his own inscription as Kaliṅgādhipati, and in the inscription of his chief queen as Kaliṅga Cakkavattī. The Hāthigumphā inscription clearly shows that the capital of Kaliṅga during the reign of Khāravela was Kaliṅganagara which has been satisfactorily identified with Mukhalingaṁ on the Vaṁśadharā and the adjacent ruins in Gañjam district, Madras Presidency.

According to the Mahāvastu (Senart's Ed., III, p. 361) Dantapura which is mentioned by Yuan Chwang as a city of the Kaliṅga country was a capital city. Evidently it was the capital of the Kaliṅga kingdom (according to Mahāvastu), and existed ages before the Buddha (Jāt., II, p. 367). 'Probably it is the Dantapura where Krishṇa crushed the Kaliṅgas (Udyogaparva, XLVII, 1883); Dandagula or Dandaguda, the capital of Calingœ, mentioned by Pliny shows that the original form was Dantakura and not Dantapura' (CAGI., p. 735).

According to the Raghuvaṁśa (IV, 38–43) the Kaliṅga country lay to the south of Vaṅga beyond the river Kapisā (modern Kāsāi on which stands Midnapore) and stretched southwards so far as to include Mt. Mahendra (portions of the Eastern Ghats above the river Godāvarī). According to the Mahābhārata (Vanaparva, CXIV, 10096–10107) the ancient Kaliṅga country seems to have comprised modern Orissa to the south of the Vaitaraṇī and the sea coast southward as far as Vizagapatam and its capital was Rājapura (Śāntiparva, IV). According to the Kurma Purāṇa (II, XXXIX, 19) it included the Amarakaṇṭaka hills. (CAGI., pp. 734-735).

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[1] 'Tosali (variant Tosala) was the name of a country as well as a city. Lévi points out that the Gaṇḍavyūha refers to the country (Janapada) of "Amita Tosala" in the Dakshiṇāpatha, "where stands a city named Tosala." In Brahmanical literature Tosala is constantly associated with (south) Kosala and is sometimes distinguished from Kaliṅga. The form Tosalei occurs in the Geography of Ptolemy. Some mediæval inscriptions (EP. Ind. IX, 286; XV, 3) refer to Dakshiṇa Tosala and Uttara Tosala.' (PHAI., p. 191.)

[2] For the identification of Samāpa, see IA., 1923, pp. 66 ff.

Duṇṇiviṭṭha.

In the Vessantara Jātaka (Jāt., VI, p. 514) we are told that the village of Duṇṇiviṭṭha was a brāhmaṇagāma in the Kaliṅgaraṭṭha.

Purikā.

Purikā is referred to in the Barhut Inscriptions (Barua and Sinha, p. 14). It is Pulika of the Mahābhārata, Purikā of the Khila-Harivaṁśa and Paurika and Saulika of the Purāṇas. In the Purāṇas, this is included in the list of countries of the Deccan. In the Vāyu, the Brahmāṇḍa and the Agni, it is mentioned before Daṇḍaka, while in the Vāmana, it occurs after Daṇḍaka but before Sārika. In the Khila-Harivaṁśa (Viṣṇupurāṇa, XXXVIII, 20–22), the city of Purikā is placed between two Vindhya ranges, near Māhiṣmatī and on the bank of a river flowing from the Rikshavanta mountain.

Paṁḍiyas.

The Paṁḍiyas (Pāṇḍyas) are mentioned in the R.E. II and III of Asoka. Their country lay outside the southern frontiers of his vast kingdom. Asoka was in friendly terms with the Paṁḍiyas who had probably two kingdoms, one including Tinnevelly on the south and extending as far north as the high lands in the neighbourhood of the Coimbatore gap, the other including the Mysore State.

In the Mahāvaṁsa we read that Vijaya, King of Ceylon, married a daughter of the Pāṇḍu King whose capital was Madhurā or Mathurā in southern India. Madhurā (Dakshiṇa Mathurā) is Madura in the south of the Madras Presidency. Another capital was probably at Kolkai. The rivers Tāmraparṇi and Kritamālā or Vaigai flowed through it.

Pithuḍaga.

In Khāravela's inscriptions, we have mention of a place founded by the former kings of Kaliṅga and known by the name of Pithuḍaga or Pithuḍa, which had become, in 113 years, a watery jungle of grass.

Pithuḍaga is the same as Sanskrit Prithudaka and Pithuḍa is but a shortened form of Pithuḍaga. In the Gaṇḍavyūha we find a reference to Prithurāshtra, which is evidently not different from what Ptolemy in his Geography calls Pitundra which is but the Greek form of Pithuṇḍa.

Prof. Sylvain Levi draws our attention to the story of Samudrapāla in Sec. XXI of the Jaina Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra in which there is mention of Pithuṇḍa as a sea-coast town reminding us at once of Khāravela's Pithuda-Pithuḍaga and Ptolemy's Pitundra.

Prof. Levi says that Ptolemy locates Pitundra in the interior of Maisolia between the mouths of the two rivers Maisolos and Manadas, i.e., between the delta of the Godāvarī and the Mahānadī nearly at an equal distance from both. It would, therefore, be convenient to search for its location in the interior of Chikakole and Kalingapatam, towards the course of the river Nāgāvatī which bears also the name of Lāṅguliya.

Pulindas.

The Pulindas are mentioned in Rock Edict XIII of Asoka as a vassal tribe along with the Andhras, and Bhojas. In a passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII, 18) the Puliṅdas are mentioned along with the Andhras; in the Purāṇas (Matsya 114, 46–48 and Vāyu, 45, 126), however, they are mentioned with the Sabares and are referred to as Dakshiṇāpathavāsinaḥ together with the Vaidarbhas and the Daṇḍakas. The Mahābhārata (XII, 207, 42) also places the Pulindas, Andhras and the Sabares in Dakshiṇāpatha. Pulindanagara, the capital of the Pulindas, was situated near Bhilsā in the Jubbalpore district of the Central Provinces. The Pulinda kingdom must have certainly included Rupnath, the findspot of one version of Asoka's Minor Rock Edicts.

Satiyaputta.

Satiyaputta is referred to in Rock Edict II. It has been differently identified by different scholars. Some identify it with Satyabrata-Kshetra or Kanchipura (e.g., Venkateswara, J.R.A.S., 1918, pp. 541-42), others (Bhandarkar and Aiyangar) with Sātpute, still others (Smith, Asoka, p. 161) with Satyamangalam Taluk of Coimbatore and yet others (E. J. Thomas, J.R.A.S., 1923, p. 412) who prefer to identify it with Satyabhumi, a territory which corresponds roughly to North Malabar including a portion of Kasergode Taluk, South Canara.

Suvaṇṇagiri.

Suvarṇagiri is mentioned in Minor Rock Edict I (Brahmagiri text) of Asoka. It was a viceregal seat of Asoka's provincial government in the Deccan and here a Kumāra was posted as Viceroy. It is difficult to identify the ancient Suvarṇagiri. Hultzsch (C.I.I., p. XXXVIII), however, identifies it with Kanakagiri in the Nizam's dominions, south of Maski, and north of the ruins of Vijayanagara. Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri thinks that 'a clue to the location of this city is probably given by the inscriptions of the later Mauryas of Konkan and Khandesh, apparently the descendants of the southern Viceroy (Ep. Ind., III, 136). As these later Maurya inscriptions have been found at Vāda in the north of the Thāṇa district and at Wāghlī in Khandesh, it is not unlikely that Suvarṇagiri was situated in the neighbourhood. Curiously enough there is actually in Khandesh a place called Songir.' (PHAI., p. 195, f.n. 3.)

Isila was another seat of government in the Deccan ruled over by a Mahāmātra. Isila is not yet identified, but may have been the ancient name of Siddāpura.

Vanavāsī.

Thera Rakkhita was sent as a missionary to Vanavāsī for the spread of Buddhism there (Mv., Chap. XII). During the Buddhist period as also afterwards, Northern Canara was known as Vanavāsī. According to Dr. Buhler, it was situated between the Ghats, Tungabhadra and Barodā. The Sāsanavaṁsa (p. 12) also refers to a country called Vanavāsī which, however, is identical with the country round Prome in Lower Burma.

Rivers, Lakes, etc.— Godāvarī.

According to the Sarabhaṅga Jātaka (Jāt., V, p. 132) it is a river near the Kaviṭṭha forest. The Godāvarī is considered to be one of the holiest rivers in Southern India, and had its source in Brahmagiri situated on the side of a village called Tṛyamvaka which is twenty miles from Nāsika.

Narmadā or Narbudā.

The river Narbudā is referred to in the Kakkaṭa Jātaka (Jāt., II, p. 344) as well as in the Citta-Sambhūta Jātaka (Jāt., IV, p. 392). It rises in the Amarakaṇṭaka mountain and falls into the Gulf of Cambay.

Hills, Caves, etc.— Candaka.

In the Saṁkhapāla Jātaka (Jāt., V, p. 162) we are told that the Mahimsaka kingdom was near the Mount Candaka. It is stated that the Bodhisatta built a hut of leaves in the Mahiṁsaka kingdom, near the Mount Candaka, in a bend of the river Kaṇṇapaṇṇā, where it issues out of the lake Saṁkhapāla. It is the Malaya-giri, the Malabar Ghats.

Ghanasela.

In the southern country in the kingdom of Avanti is the Ghanasela mountain (Jāt., V, p. 133).

Parks, Forests and Jungles—Daṇḍakārañña.

The Daṇḍakārañña is mentioned in the Milindapañho (p. 130). According to Mr. Pargiter, it comprised all the forests from Bundelkhand to the river Krishṇā.

Kāliṅgārañña.

It is referred to in the Milindapañho (p. 130). According to Cunningham, the Kāliṅgārañña lay between the Godāvarī river on the south-west, and Gaoliya branch of the Indrāvati river on the north-west (CAGI., p. 591). According to Rapson, however, it was between the Mahānadī and the Godāvarī. (Ancient India, p. 116.)

CHAPTER V

PRĀCYA OR THE EASTERN COUNTRY

Boundaries.

The Prācya country lay to the east of Madhyadeśa, but as the eastern boundary of the Madhyadeśa changed from time to time, the western boundary of the Prācya country consequently diminished. According to Vaśiṣṭha, Baudhāyana, Manu, and the Kurmavibhāga, the Prācya country lay to the east of Prayāga. But according to the Kāvyamīmāṁsā, it was to the east of Benares ('Vārāṇasyāḥ parataḥ Pūrvadeśaḥ'), while according to the Commentary on the Vātsyāyana Sūtra, it lay to the east of Aṅga.

According to the Buddhist tradition recorded in the Mahāvagga and Divyāvadāna, the western boundary of the Pūrvadeśa shrinked still more; and extended to Kajaṅgala (Mahāvagga) or Puṇḍravardhana (Dvd.). According to Yuan Chwang as well the western boundary of the Eastern country extended up to Puṇḍravardhana.

Janapadas, Puras, etc. —Tāmalitti.

The Samantapāsādikā (pp. 96-97) tells us that Asoka requested by King Devānampiyatissa of Ceylon sent a branch of the Bodhi-tree to Ceylon. It is said that Asoka from Pāṭaliputta taking with him the branch, crossed the Ganges by boat, and then traversing the Vinjhāṭavī, reached Tāmalitti, a great seaport town of the time. It was from this port that the branch of the Bodhi-tree was taken to Ceylon on a sea-going vessel. Tāmalitti is modern Tamluk. It was formerly on the mouth of the Ganges. It is now situated on the western bank of the Rūpnārāyaṇa, formed by the united stream of the Silai (Sīlāwatī) and Dalkisor (Dvārikeśvarī) in the district of Midnapore. Tāmalitti (Malitthiyaka) is also referred to in the Ceylonese Chronicles (Dv., p. 28; Mv., p. 93).

Vaṅga.

In the Mahāvaṁsa we find a reference to the kingdom of Vaṅga and of its King Sīhabāhu. Sīhabāhu's son Vijaya transplanted a new kingdom in Laṅkā or Ceylon. In the Milindapañho (p. 359) we read of sailors going on boats to Vaṅga. The Vaṅga tribe is also mentioned in the Mahāvagga of the Aṅguttara Nikāya (I, p. 213). There is a doubtful mention of the Vaṅga tribe in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. But it is probable that the name Upasena Vaṅgāntaputta had something to do with the Vaṅga kingdom. In the Dīpavaṁsa (p. 54) the reference is to Vaṅga, i.e., the Vaṅga tribe or people and not Vaṅga.

Vaṅga is, however, identical with modern Eastern Bengal. It did not stand as a name for the entire province as it does now.

Vardhamānapura.

Vardhamānapura is referred to in the Dīpavaṁsa, p. 82. It is the Vardhamāna or Vardhamānabhūkti of later inscriptions, and is identical with modern Burdwan.

Kajaṅgala.

According to the Mahāvagga, Kajaṅgala formed the western boundary of the Pūrvadeśa. It is the Ka-chu-wen-ki-lo of Yuan Chwang and is to be located somewhere in the Rājmahal district. It is the Kayaṅgala of the Commentary on the Rāmapālacarita.

CHAPTER VI

CEYLON, BURMA AND OTHER FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Countries, Provinces, Cities, Villages, etc.—Bāveru.

In the Bāveru Jātaka (Jāt., Vol. III, p. 126) we find a reference to a kingdom named Bāveru. We are told that there existed a trade relation between Bāveru and India. The journey was through water. Bāveru is identified with ancient Babylon.

Haṁsāvatī.

Some of the Therīs whose verses are preserved in the Therīgāthā were born in the city of Haṁsāvatī. The names of those therīs are: Dhammadinnā, Ubbiriyā and Selā (Therī G.C., pp. 15, 53, 61). It is difficult to identify Haṁsāvatī with any known locality in India though it is generally known that there was a place somewhere in India. There was also a city of this name in Lower Burma, and the city is said to be identical with Pegu.

Laṅkādīpa.

The thera Mahinda, son of Asoka the Great, was instrumental in spreading Buddhism in Laṅkādīpa. The Dīpavaṁsa, the Mahāvaṁsa and other works give a history of the kingdom of Laṅkā. It is modern Ceylon.

Suvaṇṇabhūmi.

The theras Soṇa and Uttara are said to have propagated Buddhism in Suvaṇṇabhumi, which is identical with Lower Burma (Pegu and Moulmein Districts). According to the Sāsanavaṁsa (p. 10) Suvaṇṇabhūmi is Sudhammanagore, that is, Thaton at the mouth of the Sittaung river.

Tambapaṇṇi.

Tambapaṇṇi is mentioned in Rock Edicts II and XIII of Asoka as one of the Prachaṁta deśas along with Coḍa, Pāṇḍya, Satiyaputta, Keralaputta and the realm of Aṁtiyako Yonarājā with which Asoka was in friendly relations. Dr. Smith, however, identifies the word to mean not Ceylon but the river Tāmraparṇi in Tinnevelly (Asoka, 3rd ed., p. 162). But the more correct identification is Ceylon which was meant in ancient times as Pārasamudra (Gk. Palæsimunda, Ind. Ant., 1919, pp. 195-96) as well as Tāmraparṇī (Gk. Taprobane). Ceylon was converted by an Asokan mission headed by Mahinda.

Asoka maintained friendly relations not only with Ceylon and the Tamil powers of the South but also with kings of countries outside India. They were Antiochus Theos, King of Syria and Western India (Aṁtiyako Yonarājā), and even with the kings and neighbours to the north of the kingdom of Antiochus where dwelt four kings named severally Ptolemy (Turamayo), Antigonos (Aṁtikini), Magas (Maga or Maka), and Alexander (Alikasudara). Ptolemy Philadelphos was King of Egypt, Magas was King of Cyrene in North Africa, Antigonos Gonatas was King of Macedonia, and Alexander was King of Epirus (Rock Edict XIII). Some think (J.R.A.S., 1914, pp. 943 ff.) that Alikasudara of the Rock Edict XIII is Alexander of Corinth, son of Craterus and not Alexander of Epirus.

Anurādhapura.

Anurādhapura is mentioned in the Dīpavaṁsa (pp. 57, 58, etc.). It was the ancient capital of Ceylon, but it is now in ruins.

Naggadīpa.

Naggadīpa is mentioned in the Dīpavaṁsa (p. 55). It was probably an Island in the Arabian Sea.

Dvāramaṇḍala.

Dvāramaṇḍala is mentioned in the Mahāvaṁsa (p. 77). It is near the Cetiyapabbata mountain (Mihintale), east of Anurādhapura.

Pulindas.

The Pulindas are mentioned as a barbarous tribe dwelling in the country inland between Colombo, Kalutara, Galle and the mountains (Mv., Geiger, tr., p. 60, note 5).

Ambaṭṭhala.

Ambaṭṭhala is mentioned in the Mahāvaṁsa, p. 102. It is immediately below the Mihintale mountain, Ceylon.

Besides these, there are a number of references to countries and places of Ceylon of lesser importance. They have all been noticed and identified in Geiger's translation of the Mahāvaṁsa.

Rivers, Lakes, Tanks, etc.—Kalyāṇi.

Kalyāṇi, a river in Ceylon (Jāt., Vol. II, p. 128). It is modern Kælani-Gaṅgā.

Kadamba Nadī.

Kadambanadī is mentioned in the Mahāvaṁsa (p. 66) whereas the Dīpavaṁsa refers to the same river as Kadambaka (p. 82). It is identical with the modern Malwaṭṭe-oya which flows by the ruins of Anurādhapura, Ceylon.

Karinda Nadī.

(Mahāvaṁsa, p. 258)—It is the modern Kirinda-oya in the southern province of Ceylon where is located the Pañjalipabbata.

Gambhīra Nadī.

(Mahāvaṁsa, p. 66)—It flows seven or eight miles north of Anurādhapura, Ceylon.

Goṇaka Nadī or Honaka.

(Mahāvaṁsa, p. 290)—It is the modern Kaḷu-oya river in Ceylon.

Mahāgaṅgā.

(Mahāvaṁsa, p. 82)—identical with the modern Mahāwæligaṅgā river in Ceylon.

Dīghavāpi. (Dīpavaṁsa, p. 25 and Mahāvaṁsa, p. 10)—It is probably the modern Kandiya-Kaṭṭu tank in the eastern province of Ceylon.

Kālavāpi or Kalivāpi. (Mahāvaṁsa, p. 299)—It was built by King Dhātusena by banking up the river Kaḷu-oya or Goṇanadī.

Tissavāpi. (Mahāvaṁsa, p. 160)—It is a tank near Mahāgāma, Ceylon.

Maṇihīrā. (Mahāvaṁsa, p. 324)—It is the modern Minneriya, a tank near Poḷonnaruwa, Ceylon.

Forests, Mountains, etc.—Malaya. (Dīpavaṁsa, p. 60 and Mahāvaṁsa, p. 69)—It is central mountain region in the interior of Ceylon.

Abhayagiri. (Dīpavaṁsa, p. 101 and Mahāvaṁsa, p. 275)—It is outside the north gate of the ruined city of Anurādhapura, Ceylon.

Sīlakūṭa. (Dīpavaṁsa, p. 89 and Mahāvaṁsa, p. 102)—It is the northern peak of the Mihintale mountain, Ceylon.

Cetiyapabbata. (Dīpavaṁsa, p. 84 and Mahāvaṁsa, p. 130)—It is the later name of the Missaka mountain, Ceylon.

Missakagiri (Dīpavaṁsa, p. 64) or Missakapabbata (Mahāvaṁsa, p. 101). It is the modern Mihintale mountain east of Anurādhapura, Ceylon.

Nandanavana. (Dīpavaṁsa, p. 69 and Mahāvaṁsa, p. 126)—It stretched between Mahāmeghavana where now the Mahāvihāra stands, and the southern wall of the city of Anurādhapura, Ceylon.

Mahāmeghavana. (Mahāvaṁsa, p. 10)—It stretched south of the capital city of Anurādhapura, Ceylon.

Cetiyas, Ārāmas, Vihāras, etc.—Ākāsa Cetiya. (Mahāvaṁsa, p. 172)—It was situated on the summit of a rock not very far from the Cittalapabbata monastery, Ceylon.

Paṭhama Cetiya. (Mahāvaṁsa, p. 107)—It was situated outside the eastern gate of the city of Anurādhapura, Ceylon.

Thūpārāma vihāra. (Mahāvaṁsa, p. 324)—It was a vihāra in Anurādhapura.

Tissamahāvihāra. (Mahāvaṁsa, p. 172)—It was located in South Ceylon, north-east of Hambantoṭa.

Jetavanavihāra. (Mahāvaṁsa, p. 322)—It was situated near the Abhayagiri dagoba in Anurādhapura, Ceylon.

Besides these, there are a number of references to cetiyas, ārāmas, vihāras, forests, mountains, rivers, tanks, etc., of Ceylon of lesser importance. They have all been noticed and identified in Geiger's translation of the Mahāvaṁsa.

APPENDIX

A note on the Cetiya in the Buddhist Literature[1]

The word 'cetiya' has been used in the Buddhist Literature in more senses than one. 'Cetiya' (sans. Caitya) in its most common sense has come to mean a 'shrine' associated with Buddhism; but the word in its original use was not exclusively Buddhist, for there are references to Brahmanical and Jaina Cetiyas[2] as well. Thus the word must have been originally used in the sense of any sacred spot or edifice or sanctuary meant for popular worship. Later, in Buddhist times, the word came to be used as a most general term for any Buddhist sanctuary.

The Dīgha Nikāya informs us that the Buddha dwelt at the Ānanda Cetiya in Bhojanagara and there he addressed the Bhikkhus on the subject of four great authorities (cattāro mahāpadese).[3] While dwelling in this shrine, the Master gave religious instructions to the assembled Bhikkhus thus, 'this is Sīla (conduct), this is Samādhi (concentration), this is Paññā (wisdom)', etc.[4] The Ānanda Cetiya referred to above was a shrine where the Bhikkhus used to assemble to hear the preachings of the Buddha; it may, therefore, possibly mean a vihāra or a monastery. Elsewhere the same authority refers in detail to another Cetiya, the Cāpāla. The Buddha one day went to the Cāpāla shrine to spend the whole day, and Ānanda followed him. To him he said, 'Oh Ānanda, Vesālī is beautiful and beautiful are the Udena, Gotamaka, Sattambaka, Bahuputta, Sārandada, and Cāpāla Cetiyas'.[5] Besides these, the Divyāvadāna mentions two other Caityas (Cetiyas), the Gautamanyagrodha and Makuṭabandhana.[6] It is difficult to ascertain what kind or kinds of cetiyas these were; but it is striking to note that most of them were denoted to commemorate a name or a relic. The Gautama-nyagrodha caitya, it is possible to imagine, refers to a nyagrodha tree shrine which was worshipped by Buddhist devotees. We have abundant references of tree worship in Buddhist art and literature. On the railings of the Bārhut stūpa, and on the gate-way of the Sañchi stūpa, we have relics representing sacred trees being worshipped by the people; and nyagrodha is the tree under which Gotama attained sambodhi (enlightenment). The Makuṭabandhana cetiya must likewise refer to a sacred spot where the head-gear band or the lock of hairdress of the Buddha after he had cut it off with his sword was placed, and which had thus attained a sanctity. In the early days of Buddhism when the worship of any image of the Buddha had not yet been sanctioned, it had been the custom to worship objects—the Bodhi tree, locks of hair, foot-prints, Dhamma-cakka (wheel of law), the alms-bowl or the like that had once been associated with him. In fact on the rails of the Bārhut stūpa, there are reliefs representing these objects being worshipped by the people. The Makuṭabandhana Cetiya is referred to in the Dīgha Nikāya [1] as belonging to the Mallas. Every tribe and janapada had cetiyas or sacred shrines of their own which they were required to honour, worship and support. The Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya informs us thus: 'The Vajjians will surely prosper as long as they honour, esteem, revere and support Vajjian shrines (Vajji-cetiyāni) in town or country'.[2] The Buddha while staying at the Sārandada cetiya at Vesālī taught the Vajjians the seven conditions of welfare.[3] The Sārandada cetiya thus seems to be a vihāra or monastery of the Vajjian tribe. The Makuṭabandhana cetiya[4] had probably the honour of having been the sacred spot where the body of the Master was burnt. For the Dīgha Nikāya asserts, 'the object of the gods is to carry the dead body of the Blessed One to the Makuṭabandhana, a cetiya of the Mallas, where the body of the Master will be burnt.'[5] The same authority refers to the Cāpāla cetiya in detail, and relates how here the Buddha thwarted an attempt of Māra, and also rejected the rest of his natural term of life consciously and deliberately.[6] It seems that the Cāpāla cetiya was a vihāra shrine; and our assumption seems to be a correct one when we find a mention of the same shrine in the Divyāvadāna[7] which informs us thus: 'the Master asked Ānanda to go to the Cāpāla shrine where the

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[1] Published in Studia Indo-Iranica, Ehrengabe für W. Geiger, 1931. (Geiger Commemoration Volume) but reprinted here with slight modifications.

[2] In the Piṭakas, Cetiya means a popular shrine unconnected with either Buddhist or Brahmanical ceremonial, sometimes perhaps merely a sacred tree or stone, probably honoured by such simple rites as decorating it with paint or flowers (Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. II, pp. 171-72). Jaina Cetiyas are not as big as the Buddhist but in other respects the Jaina shrine resembles the Buddhist very strongly. (Stevenson, Heart of Jainism, p. 280). In Sanskrit the word Cetiya (Caitya) means a tomb, or an altar, and a stūpa or mound which is also called dagoba from Sanskrit dehagopā (Mitra—Bodhgaya, p. 119).

[3] DN., II, p. 123.

[4] Ibid., II, p. 126.

[5] Ibid., II, p. 102. These are all pre-Buddhistic Cetiyas (Pāli Dictionary by Rhys Davids and Stede, p. 104).

[6] Dvd., p. 201.

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[1] DN., II, p. 160.

[2] Ibid., II, p. 75; cf. AN., IV, pp. 16-17.

[3] Ibid.

[4] It is a pre-Buddhistic Cetiya (P.T.S. Dictionary, p. 104).

[5] DN., II, p. 160.

[6] Ibid., II, pp. 113-14; cf. Udāna (P.T.S.), p. 64.

[7] Dvd., p. 207.

Bhikkhus were dwelling and the Buddha also directed him to have all those members assembled in the assembly-room of the monastery (Upasthānasālā). That the Sārandada cetiya referred to above cannot but mean a vihāra is clear from a reference in the Aṅguttara Nikāya[1] wherein it is stated that the five hundred Licchavis once assembled there when a talk arose amongst them about the getting of five jewels which cannot be easily got in this world.

From a reference in the Saṁyutta Nikāya,[2] it seems that the Bahuputta cetiya of Vesālī was a vihāra or monastery. The Buddha was seen seated in this shrine which was situated midway between Rājagaha and Nālandā. The Buddha lived for some time in the Gotamaka shrine at Vesālī and there he addressed the monks thus: 'I shall teach Dhamma knowing it fully and I shall teach it with cause (sanidānaṁ) and miracle (sappāṭihāriyaṁ).[3] The same shrine has been referred to in the Vinaya Texts[4] to mean an open shrine, probably a tree. In fact it has been referred to as such by the commentator of the Dhammapada who writes that the Udena and Gotama cetiyas are called tree shrines (rukkhacetiyāni). People being terrified, desirous of becoming free from fear, and with the object of getting sons take refuge in these shrines.[5] The two shrines have also been referred to in a passage of the Dīgha Nikāya.[6] An Acelaka had taken upon himself seven rules of life. One of his rules was that he would not go beyond the Udena shrine on the east of Vesālī, the Gotamaka shrine on the south, the Sattamba (or Sattambaka) shrine on the west, and the Bahuputta shrine on the north. This passage indicates the position of these shrines or cetiyas at Vesālī. The Maṇimālaka cetiya in Magadha, the abode of Manibhadda yakkha, where the Master dwelt for some time, also seems from its description to have been a vihāra shrine.[7] The Aggāḷava cetiya also seems to have been a shrine of the same type.[8] On another occasion the Buddha dwelt with the Bhikkhus at the Supatiṭṭha cetiya near the pleasure garden of Laṭṭhivana near Rājagaha, where Bimbisāra, King of Magadha, came to invite him with the congregation of monks.[9] This cetiya must invariably have also been a vihāra.

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[1] AN., III, p. 167.
[2] SN., II, p. 220.
[3] AN., I, p. 276.
[4] VT., (S.B.E.), II, pp. 210 foll.
[5] Dh. C., III, p. 246.
[6] DN., III, pp. 9-10.

'Puratthimena Vesāliyam Udenaṁ nāma cetiyaṁ taṁ nātikkameyyaṁ: dakkhiṇena Vesāliyaṁ Gotamakaṁ nāma cetiyaṁ taṁ nātikkameyyaṁ: pacchimena Vesāliyaṁ Sattambaṁ nāma cetiyaṁ taṁ nātikkameyyaṁ: uttarena Vesāliyam Bahuputtam nāma cetiyaṁ taṁ nātikkameyyaṁ.'

[7] SN., I, p. 208.
[8] AN., IV, pp. 216-17. Cf. Dh. C., Vol. III, pp. 170 ff.
[9] VT., I, pp. 136 ff.

The Jātakas also refer to several cetiyas. Thus in the preamble to the Maṇikaṇṭha Jātaka, reference is made to the Aggāḷava cetiya[1] where Buddha dwelt for some time and narrated to the Bhikkhus the Maṇikaṇṭha, the Brahmadatta and the Aṭṭhisena Jātakas.[2] It seems from the context of the reference that the cetiya was something of the nature of a cave-dwelling or a vihāra. But a most important reference as to the different kinds of cetiyas is made in the preamble to the Kāliṅga-bodhi Jātaka wherein the Buddha is said to have stated to Ānanda that there were three kinds of cetiyas, cetiyas for a relic of the body, a relic of use or wear, and a relic of memorial. By the first was probably meant a stūpa or dagoba; by the second was meant any shrine that was built for worship of a bowl, a piece of robe or similar things, and by the third was meant any shrine to commemorate an incident or name. The preamble to the same Jātaka states that in reply to a question of Ānanda as to whether a cetiya could be made during a Buddha's lifetime, the Buddha replied that cetiyas for a relic of memorial could be made when a Buddha would attain Nirvāṇa; but cetiyas for a relic of memorial were improper because the connection depended on the imagination only. But the great Bodhi tree used by the Buddhas was fit for a shrine, were they alive or dead.[3] Notwithstanding this injunction with regard to commemorative cetiyas, there were nevertheless cetiyas made for a relic of memorial of which instances have already been cited above. Cetiyas were made in respect of much more trifling objects too; for instance, it is recorded that when Gotama had finished his bath just before he was to take the food offered by Sujātā, hundreds of thousands of devas came to the river to pick up flowers in order that they might raise cetiyas over them and worship them.[4] These cetiyas undoubtedly refer to stūpas. The Mahāvastu refers to a Vahudeva Caitya which seems to be a cave-dwelling or a vihāra shrine.[5] The Apadāna mentions two cetiyas namely, Buddhacetiya and Sikhicetiya (pt. I., pp. 72 and 255). The Dhammapada commentary refers to a shrine called Aggāḷava where the Buddha is said to have spoken about a weaver's daughter who listening to the Master's religious discourse was established in the fruition of the first stage of sanctification.[6] The same authority refers to a golden cetiya (Suvaṇṇa cetiya) that was being built for Kassapa Buddha who was endowed with ten potentialities. Members of the good families of Benares with cart-loads of food came to the cetiya to do the work of labourers.[1] The golden cetiya can only refer to a stūpa shrine.

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[1] It is a pre-Buddhistic cetiya (Pāli Dictionary by Rhys Davids and Stede, p. 104).

[2] Jāt., II, p. 282; Ibid., III, pp. 78, 351.

[3] Jāt., IV, p. 228.

[4] Mitra—Bodhgayā, p. 30.

[5] Law—A Study of the Mahāvastu, p. 153. Cf. Mahāvastu (Senart's Ed.), III, p. 303.

[6] Dh. C., III, pp. 170 ff.

In the Samantapāsādikā (commentary on the Vinayapiṭaka), the Sāsanavaṁsa, the Mahābodhivaṁsa, the Dāṭhāvaṁsa, the Cūḷavaṁsa as well as the Sammohavinodanī (the commentary on the Vibhaṅga) and the Manorathapūraṇī (the commentary on the Aṅguttara Nikāya) there are references to a large number of cetiyas of Ceylon. The shrine which was built on the spot where the Theras first alighted in Ceylon is called the Paṭhama cetiya,[2] which probably refers to a stūpa or dagoba. A pious Sāmaṇera once put three stone slabs to form steps to the courtyard of an ākāsa cetiya (sky shrine) which probably refers to a tree or stūpa shrine.[3] The Buddha along with 500 Bhikkhus is said to have visited the Mahācetiya, Dīghavāpicetiya, and Kalyāṇī cetiya[4] which probably refer to stūpa or vihāra shrines. The Thūpārāma cetiya which is a vihāra shrine still exists. The same authority refers to a cetiya near Anurādhapura where some Theras descended from the sky,[5] as also to a golden cetiya built by prince Uttara.[6] The golden shrine probably refers to a stūpa which in Ceylon came popularly to be known as a dagoba. The Kaṇṭaka cetiya was visited and circumambulated by Asoka before entering the city of Anurādhapura[7]; this cetiya in all probability refers to a stūpa or tree shrine round which there must have been a pradakṣiṇa (padakkhiṇa) courtyard. The Sammohavinodanī enjoins upon all visitors to a cetiya to go thrice round it and worship it.[8] It is apparent from this statement that there was probably a passage of circumambulation round each shrine. The Sāsanavaṁsa refers to several cetiyas, e.g., the Pāda cetiya,[9] the Ratana[10] cetiya and a host of others, but it is difficult to ascertain the exact nature of these cetiyas. The Mahābodhivaṁsa refers to the Dīghavāpicetiya and Sīlācetiya (p. 132), which were visited by the Buddha before he went to the continent of India. The Mahācetiya was also visited by Asoka where he saw a thera worshipping and saluting it with flowers (Samantapāsādikā, Vol. I, p. 101). This great shrine acquired a great sanctity as it was saluted by a large number of monks every day in the evening. In fact salutation to the Cetiyas is a religious duty of a Buddhist. We read in the Sammohavinodanī (p. 292) that a thera who is free from sins salutes a great shrine. Even the sight of a shrine is considered to be auspicious (Sammohavinodanī, p. 348: Cetiyadassanaṁ sātthaṁ). The Dāṭhāvaṁsa mentions Cūḷamaṇi cetiya which must have referred to a stūpa or dagoba; for it is described therein to have contained within it an excellent golden casket in which had been placed the lock of hair of prince Siddhārtha which he had cut off with a sharp sword, and which had been taken by Sakka.[1] The same authority refers also to the Kalyāṇī, Thūpa, and Thūpārāma cetiyas of Ceylon.[2] The Thūpa cetiya from its very name seems to have been a stūpa or dagoba shrine; whereas the Thūpārāma, again from its very name, was most probably a vihāra shrine. In the Manorathapūraṇī reference is made to two cetiyas, the Ākāsa cetiya (i.e., the cetiya erected by Inda, in the sky on the hair of the Bodhisatta cut off on the bank of the river Anomā) and the Mahācetiya worshipped by a minister.[3] Both the shrines seem to refer to stūpas or dagobas. The Cūḷavaṁsa also refers to a large number of cetiyas of Ceylon. Thus it states that the city of Ceylon was once decorated up to the Ambathalā cetiya.[4] Elsewhere reference is made to the Maṅgala cetiya to the north of which king Upatissa built a thūpa, an image and a room for keeping the image.[5] Mention is also made of the Bahumaṅgala cetiya, the three great cetiyas,[6] the Amala cetiya,[7] the Hemavāluka cetiya where an anointment ceremony was performed,[8] the Ratanavāluka cetiya where meritorious deeds were performed [9] and the Ratanāvali cetiya which was very extensive.[10] Another cetiya is said to have been destroyed by the Damiḷas.[11] It is difficult to ascertain exactly the nature of these cetiyas, but most of them, it seems from their contexts, were stūpa shrines.

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[1] Dh. C., IV, p. 64.

[2] MV., XIV, 44-45 verses; Cf. Samantapāsādikā, I, p. 79.

[3] MV., 22, verse 26.

[4] Samantapāsādikā, I, p. 89.

[5] Ibid., p. 79.

[6] Ibid., III, p. 544.

[7] Ibid., I, p. 82.

[8] Sammohavinodanī, p. 349.

[9] SV., p. 115.

[10] Ibid., p. 91.

That the cetiyas also referred to assembly halls as distinguished from stūpas and vihāras is illustrated by extant rock-cut Buddhist assembly-halls at Nāsik, Bhājā, Karle and other places. These assembly-halls are still known as Caityas or Cetiyas. These halls are, in fact, rock-cut caves of an apsidal form with a small dagoba or stūpa at the end of the apse, in front of which there was the pillared hall for the assembly of worshippers. The vihāras which were either rock-cut or structural were rather of the nature of dwelling halls whereas the stūpas were of the nature of a hemispherical, and later on, cylindrical dome.

Thus it is natural to take the term, cetiya as the most general name for any sanctuary which can well stand for a stūpa, a vihāra, an assembly hall, a tree, a memorial stone, a holy relic or object, or place, or even an image. In fact, it may mean any shrine, particularly associated with Buddhism, of any character constructed for purposes of worship or honour, or esteem and regard. Kern is, therefore, right in saying that all edifices having the character of a sacred monument are Caityas, but not all Caityas are edifices.[1]

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[1] Dāṭhāvaṁsa (B. C. Law's edition), p. 6.
[2] Ibid., pp. 12-13.
[3] Manorathapūraṇī, Sinhalese ed., p. 207.
[4] CV., I, p. 5 (Cetiyambathalā yāva nagaraṁ sādhu sajjiya).
[5] Ibid., I, p. 14.
[6] Ibid., I, p. 27.
[7] Ibid., I, p. 53.
[8] Ibid., I, p. 131.
[9] Ibid., II, p. 388.
[10] Ibid., II, p. 449.
[11] Ibid., II, p. 388.

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[1] Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 91. Eliot thinks that in Buddhist times the Cetiya became a reliquary or cenotaph generally located near a monastery and surrounded by a passage for reverential circumambulation. (Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. II, p. 172.) Grünwedel and Burgess, on the other hand, think that the term, caitya is applied to a monument or cenotaph, and in a secondary shrine to a temple or shrine containing a Caitya or *dhātugarbha*. The Caityas or dagobas, they think, are an essential feature of temples or chapels, there being a passage for circumambulation round the Caitya or cetiya. According to them the term Caitya, however, applies not only to sanctuaries, but to sacred trees, holy spots and other religious monuments (Buddhist Art in India, pp. 20-21). R. C. Childers in his Pāli Dictionary (p. 102) means, by the term cetiya, a religious building or shrine, a temple, a thūpa or Buddhist relic shrine, a sacred tree or a tomb. Cetiyaṅgana means an open courtyard round a cetiya. Cf. the P.T.S. Dictionary '*Cetiya*', p. 104.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

The following books and papers should be consulted :—

1. Gayā and Buddha-Gayā by Dr. B. M. Barua is a masterly production on the subject. It is a great improvement made on Dr. Rajendralala's Buddha-Gayā. In it the section dealing with Gayā in Buddhist Literature should be read by every scholar interested in Buddhist history and geography.
2. Aṅga and Campā in the Pāli Literature by B. C. Law published in the J.A.S.B., N.S., Vol. XXI, 1925.
3. Notes on Ancient Aṅga or the District of Bhagalpur by Nundolal Dey, J.A.S.B., N.S., Vol. X, 1914.
4. Taxila as a Seat of Learning in the Pāli Literature by B. C. Law published in the J.A.S.B., N.S., Vol. XII, 1916.
5. Data from the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī by B. C. Law published in the J.A.S.B., New Series, Vol. XXI, 1925—Geographical references.
6. Geographical references in the Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā published in the Mahabodhi Journal, September, 1932.
7. Geographical references in the Mahāvastu otherwise known as 'Geographical Glimpses' published in the Supplement to my 'Study of the Mahāvastu,' pp. 16-17.

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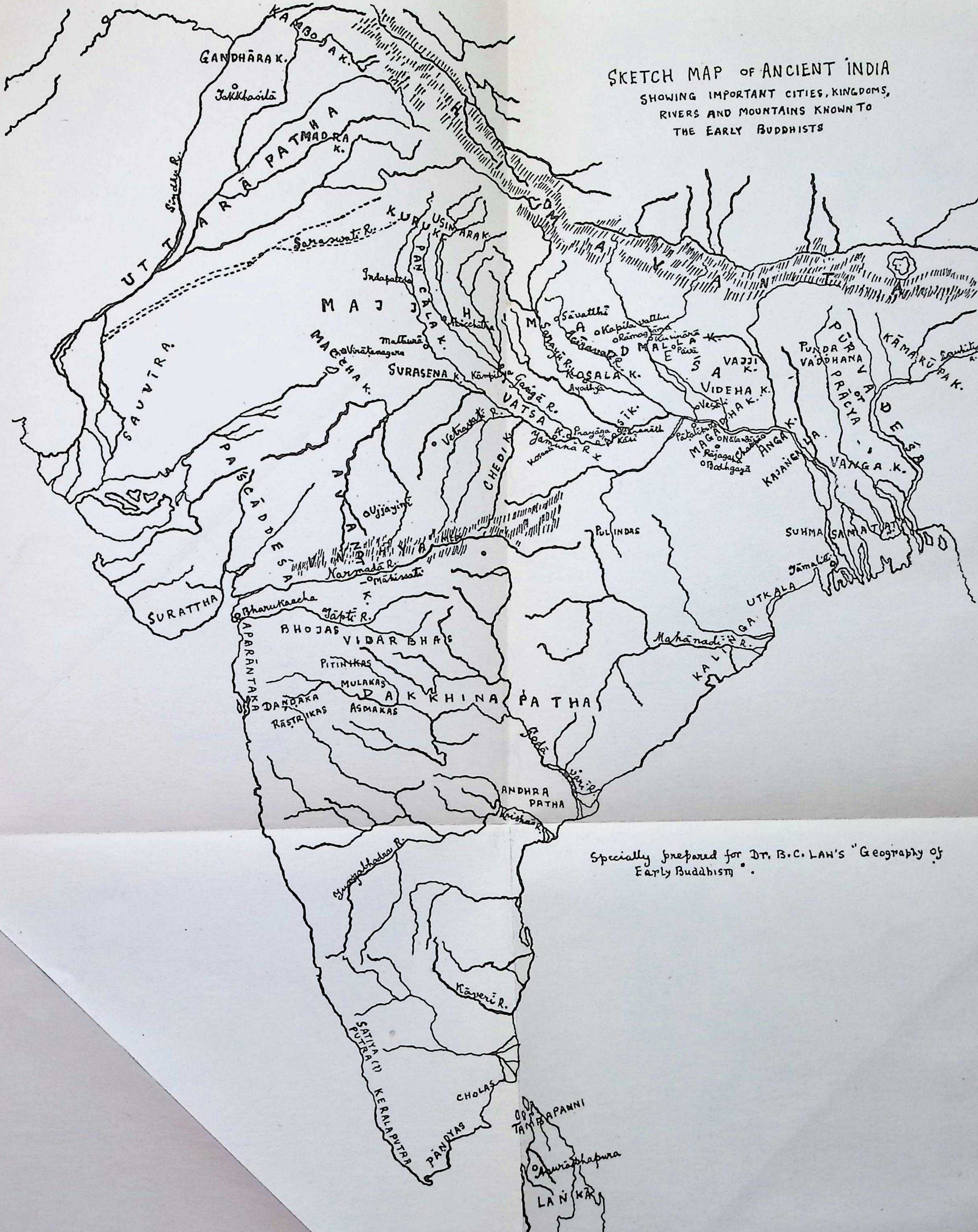
SHOWING IMPORTANT CITIES, KINGDOMS, RIVERS AND MOUNTAINS KNOWN TO THE EARLY BUDDHISTS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